KĀMAKOṬṬAM, NĀYANMĀRS,

AND

ĀDI ŚAṄKARA

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FOREWORD

I am glad to sponsor the present work by Dr V. A Devasenapathi who has been a devoted student of Tamil Śaivism. The material he has gathered and presented herein will be of interest to scholars. I commend it to the attention of scholars.

K. K. PILLAY
Director

PREFACE

The present monograph entitled *Kāmakoṭṭam, Nāyanmārs, and Ādi Śaṅkara* represents the research work carried on by me during the years 1971-72. At first I was diffident to publish this work. I, however, circulated cyclostyled copies to scholars for favour of their valuable suggestions and constructive criticisms. Dr Jean Filliozat of the French Institute of Indian Studies, Pondicherry, a great Indologist, wrote to me encouraging me to publish this work. Dr K. K. Pillay, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon), D. Litt , Director, Institute of Traditional Cultures, Madras, was kind enough to suggest its publication as a special Bulletin of the Institute.

I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Dr K. K. Pillay for sponsoring the publication of this work as a special Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures and for his kindness in having written a Foreword to this work. To Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram, Former Vice-Chancellor of the Madurai University, I offer my profound respects for having acceeded to my request to write an Introduction to this work. I have great pleasure in thanking Dr N. Veezhinathan, Reader in Sanskrit, University of Madras, for the valuable help he gave me in gathering material for this work.

I express my grateful thanks to Dr N. Ramesan, M.A., Ph.D., F. R. A. S. (London), for supplying the photograph of Bhairavācārya from a fresco painting at

Allah Durg, and to Mr K. Nilakanthan and Mr K. Nagarajan of B. G. Paul & Co. for their kindness in supplying the blocks that are reproduced in this work.

I am thankful to Dr R. Balasubramanian and to Dr T. P. Ramachandran of the Centre for Advanced Study in Philosophy, University of Madras, for the valuable help they rendered in the preparation and printing of this work.

I have great pleasure in thanking Messrs Avvai Achukkoodam for the neat execution of this work.

I offer this work at the Lotus-Feet of Goddess Kāmākṣī-Kāmakoṭi—the *Śakti* of the great Śāṅkarite Institution for the southern region at Kāñcī. May Goddess Kāmākṣī accept this offering and bless us all!

Madras
2—9—75

V. A. Devasenapathi

INTRODUCTION

By

Dr T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM

(Former Vice-Chancellor of the Madurai University)

I have been called upon to introduce the book "Kāmakoṭṭam, Nāyanmārs and Ādi Śaṅkara" — a well documented treatise by my good friend Dr V. A. Devasenapati, Professor of Philosophy in the Centre of Advanced Study in Philosophy, University of Madras. I am a worshipper of God as the Mother - Kāmākṣī, of Kāmakoṭṭam, and I have been initiated into the mysteries of the worship of Kāmākṣī, the ocean of Karuṇā, Meru Chakra and Śrī Vidyā by an old priest of Kāmākṣī Temple. It is thus always my good fortune to be commanded to do what is nearest to my heart.

This work consists of two parts. The first part deals with the greatness of Kāñcī and Kāmakoṭṭam from very early times in Tamil literature and elsewhere coming down to the end of the age of the Nāyanmārs. The city is one of the seven great holy cities of India. A *śaṅgam* work refers to the festivals worshipped by many sects. Saint Appar refers to the boundless ocean of learning in this city. Kāñcī is one of the ancient Universities of India equally great in the history of Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism.

The original name is Kāñcī, which in Tamil means a tree of the agricultural and urban tract, it being a well-known custom to name a city after the trees therein. In Sanskrit it means a jewel belt worn near the navel — here the navel of the earth, the city being considered to be its centre. This was pronounced with a short *a* by the Telugus as *Kanji*, and this in due course became by the hardening of the nasal, *Kacci*, which is the name found in Maṇimekalai and later works.

Maṇimekalai, the heroine therein, meets the Buddhist priest who is identified by some as the great Dharmapāla. Kāñcī was known to Patañjali of the *Mahābhāṣya* fame and also to ancient China.

The Centre of Kāñcī is the Temple of Kāmākṣī, called in Tamil Kāmakkoṭṭam and in Sanskrit *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha*. Koṭṭam in *Cilappatikāram* means a temple. In Toṇṭaiman-ṭalam its division is known as Kōṭṭam probably because each one of them had a temple. Kāmakoṭṭam is the name of the temple of the Goddess. At Kāñcī this Kāmakoṭṭam lies between the two rivers Kaṁpā and Vegavatī. The river Kaṁpā now remains in the form of a tank in Ekām-reśvara temple.

The inscriptions show that originally there were separate temples for the Goddess, and these called Kāma-koṭṭam in śilpa śāstras and inscriptions grow later as separate institutions. But at Kāñcī there are no separate temples for Pārvatī or the Mother in any of the many Śiva temples, Kāmakoṭṭam of Kāmākṣī being the only such temple there. The purāṇic story of Manmatha conquering

Śiva with the grace of the Mother explains this fact by stating that at the request of Manmatha the Mother with-drew her *śakti* from every temple and at the request of Brahmā allowed the Pārvatī temples to grow except at Kāñcī, the place where Manmatha became victorious.

An old verse quoted by Aḍiyārkkunallār refers to Śāttān, who guards the Kāmakkoṭṭam and with whose *ceṇṭu* the Chola Karikāl Vaḷavan made the Meru whirl round. This temple of Śāttān is within the temple of Kāmākṣī. Because of the story already referred to, the *śakti* temples elsewhere were also known as *Kāmakkōṭṭam* as proved by the inscriptions and the poems of Appar and Sambandar. Appar speaks elsewhere of the Kāmakoṭṭi as the Mother Goddess impressing on Lord's Śiva's body her embrace, thus referring to the story of Kāmākṣī of Kāñcī. The lady of Kāmakoṭṭam is thus called Kāmakoṭṭi. Sambandar calls Pārvatī elsewhere as Kāmakkoḍi, which the author suggests should be Kāmakoṭi.

Kāmakkoṭṭam has been held in great reverence even by non-Hindus, as is proved by a Jain inscription of Śāttamaṅgalam that one who violates the terms of the endowment would incur the sin of destroying the Kāmakoṭṭam. There is the *Bilākāśa*, the *Śrī-Cakra*, the goddess Śyāmala and the temple of Kaḷvar or Ād Varāhamūrti inside the Kāmakoṭṭi temple. Kāñcīpurāṇa gives the story of Kāmākṣī performing the 32 kinds of Dharmas or aṟam. As a result, there is the *Dharmastaṁba* in the Kāmākṣī temple. Saint Sundarar asks a rhetorical question of Śiva : "whilst the Goddess (your wife) peforms

thirty-two dharmas why should you beg?" The names *Dharmiṇī* and *Dharmavardhinī* are thus explained.

Part two deals with Adi Śaṅkara's connection with Kāñcī and Kāmakoṭṭam. The most authoritative story of Śaṅkara by Ānandagiri refers to Śaṅkara consecrating Kāmākṣī and *Śrī-Cakra* at Kāñcī, establishing the *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭhā* there and directing Sureśvara to be incharge of that and thereafter himself attaining *siddhi* there. This position is strengthened by reference to other works. Śaṅkara's *samādhis* elsewhere are proved to be memorials rather than *samādhis* in the real sense of the word.

Śaṅkara established the *maṭha* for the southern region (*āmnāya*) at Kāñcī. An institution for a region consists of three factors — a *śakti*, a *devatā* and a *kṣetra*. And the texts that deal with these threefactors are known as *maṭhāmnāya* texts. All the *Maṭhāmnāya* texts except that published by Vāni Vilās press speak of the *Śakti* of the southern region as Goddess Kāmākṣī. The Vāṇi Vilās edition speaks of Śāradā as *Śakti*, but Śāradā is not the *Śakti* of Śiva but of Brahmā. The *Devatā* is Kaḷvar or Ādi Varāhamūrti which is present in the niche at the Kāmākṣī temple. Though the *kṣetra* is Rāmeśvaram, yet, since the abode of both *śakti* and *devatā* is Kāñcī and since Śaṅkara spent his last days at Kāñcī, he established the institution for the southern region there.

It is thus clear that Ādi Śaṅkara is intimately connected with Kāñcī and Kāmakoṭi. The sculptures in and around Kāñcī are replete with representations of Śaṅkara

as Ekandaṇḍa Sannyāsi, without regard to the deity to which the temples are dedicated. The author after an elaborate and careful analysis conclusively proves that the sannyāsin with an Ekadaṇḍa bearing the marks of the conch and the axe cannot be a Vaiṣṇavite or a Lakulīśa Śaivite, who carries only a silver staff, but can be only Ādi Śaṅkara.

The learned author of an important book - *Devī Kāmākṣī in Kāñcī* - a book exhibiting deep research which I myself praised though not agreeing with all the conclusions therein — eonclusions which Dr Devasenapati attacks in the present work has unfortunately made a passing remark that the Kumbakonam Mutt is now (1960) laying claim to *Kañcī-Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha.* Dr Devasenapati, quoting from the Mackenzie report, Mody records of the Madras Central Record Office, the Sarasvathi Mahal Library and the archives of the Mutt itself, High Court judgements, letters written by Śṛṇgeri Mutt, Firmans of the Nawabs and East India Company and inscriptions, conclusively proves that the position taken up once by the Śṛṅgeri Mutt that the Kumbakonam Mutt could not claim the Kāmakōṭi-pīṭha had been dismissed by the High Court, that even in the beginning of the 18th century the Mutt had been at Kañcīpuram, that on account of disturbed conditions the Mutt was transferred to Tanjore and to Kumbakonam during the period of King Pratapa Siṁhā of Tanjore who was a great devotee of Śrī Candraśekarendra Sarasvatī the fourth, that even after moving to Kumbakonam the ācāryas were known as Kañcī Kāma koṭi-pīṭhadhipatis, that they were having control over

Kāmākṣī Temple and performing Kumbābhiṣekam, that the authorities of the Śṛṅgeri Mutt themselves have accepted the Kāmakōṭipīṭa, that in the Manual of Pudukkoṭṭai edited by the author of the book *Devī Kāmakṣī in Kāñcī* and in his article on copper plate grant of *Kāmakōṭi-pīṭha* and in the proceeding of the Indian Historical Records Commission, he has referred to the old records referring to the *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha* and its ācāryas who were permitted by foreign rulers to continue their procession unmolested by others without paying tolls, etc.

The author after all these exhaustive researches concludes and I agree — " It is heartening to see that Śrī Śaṅkara has been followed by a line of Advaitic Preceptors in that great Institution. May Goddess Kāmākṣī, the *Śakti* of the *Kāmakoṭi-Pīṭha,* protect us all-Her children."

It will be thus seen that the author has given us an interesting, useful, and significant book, and he deserves our congratulations.

Madras, 29—8—75 } T. P. Meenakshisundaram

PART ONE

I

There are seven sacred cities in India which grant salvation. They are:

अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काञ्ची अवन्तिका ।
पुरी द्वारवती चैव सप्तैते मोक्षदायिकाः ॥

ayodhyā mathurā māyā kāśī kāñcī avantikā
purī dvāravatī caiva saptaite mokṣadāyikāḥ

Śri Vedāntadeśika in his *Aḍaikkalappattu* (*The Refuge-Decad*) refers to the excellence of Kāñcī (Kacci) as one of the seven sacred cities that grant salvation.

பத்தி முதலாமவற்றில் பதி எனக்குக் கூடாமல்
எத்திசையும் உழன்று ஓடி இளைத்து விழும் காகம் போல்
முத்தி தரும் நகர் ஏழில் முக்கியமாம் கச்சிதன்னில்
அத்திகிரி அருளாளர்க்கு அடைக்கலம் நான் புகுந்தேனே

bhattimudalāmavaṟṟil pati yenakkuk kūḍāmal
yettiśaiyuṁ uḻanru ōḍi iḷaittuviḻuṁ kākaṁ pōl
muttitaruṁ nagar ēḻil mukyamāṁ kaccitannil
attigiri aruḷāḷarku aḍaikkalam nān puhundenē

'Like a crow that flies in every direction and falls exhausted, I being unable to obtain the Lord through devotion, etc., have sought as refuge the grace of the Lord of Hastigiri of Kacci which is the most important of the seven cities that give salvation.'

The city of Kāñcī (Kacci) has been praised in the following words in *Perumppāṇā*_r_ *ṟuppaḍai* which is one among the ancient works in Tamil Sangam Literature.

மலர்தலை உலகத்துள்ளும் பலர்தொழ
விழவு மேம்பட்ட பழவிறன் மூதூர் . [*பாண் 410-411*]

malartalai ulagattuḷḷum palar toḻa
viḻavu mēmbaṭṭa paḻaviṟan mūdūr

'The city of Kacci is an ancient one (*mūdūr*) in the world whose excellence is enhanced by festivals celebrated by the followers of various faiths.'

Naccinārikiniyar comments thus on the above:

பலசமயத்தாரும் தொழும்படி எடுத்த விழாக்களிலே
ஏனை நகர்களின் மேலானவெற்றியினை உடைய பழைய ஊர்

palaśamayattāruṁ toḻuṁbaḍi eḍutta viḻākkaḷile
ēnai naharhaḷin mēlāna veṟṟiyinai uḍaiya paḻaiya ūr

'Kacci is an ancient city pre-eminent because festivals of various faiths are celebrated there.'

Appar refers to Kāñcī as a place of boundless learning in his *Tēvāram* relating to *Tirukkacci-Tirumēṟṟaḷi*.

செல்வியைப் பாகங் கொண்டார் சேந்தனை மகனாக் கொண்டார்
மல்லிகைக் கண்ணியோடு மாமலர்க் கொன்றை சூடிக்
கல்வியைக் கரையிலாத காஞ்சிமாநகர் தன்னுள்ளால்
எல்லியை விளங்க நின்றார் இலங்குமேற்றளியனாரே [*4-43-8*]

śelviyai bhāgaṁ koṇḍār śēndanaimahanākkoṇḍār
mallihaikkaṇṇiyōḍu māmalarkonraicūḍi
KALVIYAIKKARAIYILĀDA kāñcimānagar tannuḷḷāl
yelliyai vilaṅganinṟār ilaṅgu mēṟṟaḷaiyināre

'He has His beloved (*Pārvatī*) sharing half His body; He has Śendan (Subrahmaṇya) as His son; the fair-eyed Gaṅgā adorns His head, and *konrai* flowers light up His face. He shines in *Tirumēṟṟaḷi* in Kāñcī noted for the boundless learning of its scholars in contrast to the surrounding ignorance.

In a reference to Aravaṇa Aḍigal in the *Maṇimekhalai*, the expression *Kaccimānagar* is used;

தவநெறி அறவணன் சாற்றக் கேட்டனன்
ஆங்கவன் றானும் நின்னறத்திற்கேதுப்
பூங்கொடி கச்சி மாநகர் ஆதலின்
மற்றம் மாநகர் மாதவன் பெயர் நாள்
பொற்றொடி தாயரும் அப்பதிப் படர்ந்தனர்.
[*மணிமேகலை, கச்சிமாநகர் புக்க காதை, வரிகள் 150-154.*]

tavaneṟi aṛavaṇan śāṟṟakkeṭṭanan
āṅgavanṟānuṁ ninnaṟattiṟkētup
pūṅgoḍi kaccimānagar ātalin
maṟṟam mānagar mādhavan peyar nāḷ
poṟṟoḍitāyaruṁ appadippaḍarndanar

Kañcī is the appropriate place for your ascetic practice; and, for your sake your mother and Sudhamathi accompanied Aravaṇan to that place.

Kacci is referred to as Kāñcī in both Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*[1] and Harṣa's *Naiṣadha*.[2]

The meaning of the word Kāñcī in Sanskrit is *Oḍḍiyāṇam* (a belt worn as an ornament around the waist

1. The *Mahābhāṣya*, IV, ii, 104.
2. The *Naiṣadha-kāvya*, 12, 33.

by women). This ornament is worn only around the navel. Kāñcī is so-called because it is the navel position for the earth. *Kāñcīmāhātmya* and *Kāmākṣī-vilāsa* speak of Kāñcī as the navel of the world.

(*a*) तपस्स्थानं बिलं सूक्ष्म परमं व्योम तत्स्मृतम् ।

[काञ्चीमाहात्म्यम् ३१-७०]

(*b*) आधिभौतिकमंहोघ्नं नाभिस्स्थानं भुवः परम् ।

[कामाक्षीविलासम् ११-६]

(*c*) जगद्कामकलाकारं नाभिस्स्थानं भुवः परंम् ।

[कामाक्षीविलासम् १३-७३]

(*i*) *tapassthānam bilam sūkṣmaṁ paramaṁ vyoma tatsmṛtam*

(*Kāñcīmāhātmyam 31-70*)

(*ii*) *ādhibhautikamaṁhoghnaṁ nābhissthānaṁ bhuvaḥ param*

(*Kāmākṣīvilāsam, 11, 6*)

(*iii*) *jagadkāmakalākāraṁ nābhissthānaṁ bhuvaḥ param*

(*ibid., 13-73*)

Śivajñāna Munivar in his *Kañcīpurāṇa* refers to Kāñcī as the navel-region of the Goddess Earth who wears the sea as Her Garment and who shines as the Supreme *ākāśa*.

அணையால் பரப்பு நுண் பிலமாகி அருட்பர வெளியாய்த்திகழும்
அணைகடல் உடுக்கை நிலமகட்குந்தி ஸ்தானமாம்

வீராட்டஹாசப் படலம் - 31.

aṇaiyāl parappu nun bilamāhi aruṭparaveḷiyāytihaḻum
aṇaikaḍal uḍukkai nilamahaṭkundi sthānamām

Vīrāṭṭahāśappaṭalam, 31.

Kāñcī whose renown is celebrated thus, consists of *Kāmakoṭṭam*, *Rudra-Koṭṭam*, *Punya-Koṭṭam* and *Kumara-koṭṭam* which are sacred severally for Parāśakti, Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Kumāra. *Kumara-koṭṭam* and *Kāḷikoṭṭam* are comprised in *Kāmakoṭṭam*.

II

Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam (Tuṇḍīra-maṇḍalam) has as its boundaries *Svāmipuṣkariṇī* in Tirupati in the north, the *sea* in the east, *Tenpeṇṇai* known as *Dakṣiṇapināgini* in the south, and *Kallāṟu* in the West. Of these *Svāmipuṣkariṇī* is to the north east of Lord Veṅkaṭeśvara's temple at Tirupati. It is said that Lord Veṅkaṭeśvara invoked the river Virajā and named it as *Svāmipuṣkariṇī*. This is the northern boundary.

When Brahmā started performing a sacrifice at Kāñcī, without Sarasvatī, she flowed fast in the form of a river to destroy the sacrifice. Hence this river is known as *Vegavatī*. Mahāviṣṇu saved the sacrifice. Sarasvatī flowed eastwards and merged in the sea. This sea marks the eastern boundary.

When the sage Bhṛgu once lifted the bow of Śiva, known as *Pināka*, it assumed the form of a river. It is this which is known as river *Pinākinī*. *Pinākinī* takes two courses as *Uttarapinākinī* (*vaḍapeṇṇaiyāṟu*) and *Dakṣiṇapinākinī* (*ten-peṇṇaiyāṟu*). These are in the Nellore and the South Ārcot districts respectively. The *Dakṣiṇapinākinī* is the southern boundary.

When Laksmaṇa was struck down by the weapon of *Śakti* in the battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, Hanūmān, on the suggestion of Jāmbavān brought medicinal herbs from *Oṣadhiparvata* and those herbs were washed in *Kallāṟu*. *Kallāṟu* marks the western boundary.

Once upon a time Devī went to Kāñci and was performing penance to obtain Śiva. Śiva ordered Gaṅgā to

take the form of a river to test her devotion, whereupon Gaṅgā started flowing in the form of a river. There was shivering in the body of Devī when she beheld the river in flood. This river came to be known as *Kaṁpā* because it caused trembling (*kampana*) in the body of Devī.

Through Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam bounded on four sides in the above manner flow the rivers *Kaṁpā* and *Vegavatī*.

At the time of Mūkakavi *Kaṁpā* was flowing in the form of a river ; and, it is clear from his verses in the *Āryāśataka :*

कम्पातीरचराणां करुणाकोरकितदृष्टिपातानाम् ।
केलीवनं मनो मे केषाञ्चिद्भवतु चिद्विलासानाम् ॥ [१२]

पुण्या कापि पुरन्ध्री पुङ्खितकन्दर्पसंपदा वपुषा ।
पुलिनचरी कम्पायाः पुरमथनं पुलकनिचुलितं कुरुते ॥ [२२]

kampātīracarāṇām karuṇākorakitadṛṣṭipātānām
kelīvanaṁ mano me keṣāmcidbhavatu cidvilāsānām [12]

puṇyā kāpi purandhrī puṅkhitakandarpasaṁpadā vapuṣā
pulinacarī kaṁpāyāḥ puramathanam pulakaniculitam kurute [22]

Herein he refers to *Kaṁpā* as a river. *Kaṁpā* is now in the form of a small tank on the southern side of the (first) outer prakāram of the Ekāmreśvara temple. The river *Vēgavatī* is to the south of Kāñcī. *Kāmakoṣṭha* is situated in between these two rivers. And Goddess Kāmākṣī presides over the *Kāmakoṣṭha*.

III

The temple of Kāmākṣī is the centre of importance in Kāñcī. There are many temples in this sacred city dedi-

cated to Viṣṇu and Śiva. It is the custom in Kāñcī for the *utsavar* of any temple therein to be taken in procession at the time of *Brahmotsava* through the four main streets around the temple of Kāmākṣī.

All the temples whether Śaivite or Vaiṣṇavite have their main gopurams or entrances facing *Kāmakoṣṭha*. There is yet another feature about Kāñcī. Whereas outside Kāñcī there is a separate *sanctum* for Devī in every Śaivite temple in Tamil Nadu, there is no such *sanctum* for the Devī in the Śiva temples within the limits of the city of Kāñcī.

It is because of this :—Manmatha who was made formless by Lord Śiva performed penance, in order to recover form, at Kāñcī invoking Goddess Kāmākṣī. Pleased with his penance, Kāmākṣī gave him a new form by her gracious look.

हरनेत्राग्निसन्दग्धकामसञ्जीवनौषधिः ॥ [श्रीललितासहस्रनामस्तोत्रम्—३४]

haranetrāgnisandagdhakāmasañjīvanauṣadhiḥ
[*Śrī Lalitāsahaśranāmastotram*, 34]

He then prayed that he should be empowered to conquer Śiva. Granting his prayer, Kāmākṣī withdrew her *sānnidhya* unto Herself from all the Śiva temples including Kailāsa and concentrated all of it in the space of a small cave (*bilākāśa*) in the *Kāmakoṣṭha*. Finding his temples bereft of Her presence, Śiva felt the pangs of separation. It appeared as if that was the moment of Manmatha's triumph over Śiva. Sometime hence Brahmā went to Kailāsa to offer worship to Śiva. After worshipping Him, he went to pay his obeisance to Devī. Devī was not to be found there.

He then went to all the Śiva temples; he could not find her in any of them. He then realised that all this was due to the will of Kāmākṣī; and then he performed penance in the *Kāmakoṣṭha* at Kāñcī praying to Her that Her *sānnidhya* should be manifested in all the temples as before. Kāmākṣī appeared before him and in response to his prayer agreed to restore Her *sānnidhya* in all the Śiva temples except those in Kāñcī and further said that there is no need for a separate *sanctum* for Her in any of the Śiva temples at Kāñcī which is the *Śivajitkṣetra*. Thereafter, Kāmākṣī restored her *sānnidhya* in all those temples except Kāñcī. Since Her *sānnidhya* was released from *Kāmakoṣṭha* at Kāñcī, the *sanctum* of the Goddess in all the Śiva temples in Tamil Nadu are referred to as *Kāmakoṣṭha*.

पुरा पञ्चशरोऽनङ्गः प्रत्यक्षाङ्गाभिलाषया ।
कामकोष्ठं समासाद्य कामाक्षीं संप्रपूज्य च ।
हृदि ध्यात्वा तु तां कामस्तपस्तेपेऽतिदुष्करम् ॥
ततस्तत्कामदेवस्य तपसा तुष्टमानसा ।
कदाचित् तत्र कामाक्षी महात्रिपुरसुन्दरी ॥
प्रसन्नाथ महाशक्तिः स्वकटाक्षनिरीक्षणात् ।
ददौ कामाय दिव्याङ्गं नृणामानन्ददायकम् ॥

* * *

तदा सर्वेषु शैवेषु कैलासाद्यालयेषु च ।
यत्र यत्र स्थितास्सर्वा गौरीः स्वांशतया स्थिताः ॥
समाकृष्यैक्यतो देवी तूष्णीमासीच्छुभानना ॥

* * *

कदाचिदथ लोकेशः कैलासाद्यालयेषु च ।
सेवार्थं परमेशस्य समागत्यालयं तदा ॥
देवीहीनालयं दृष्ट्वा शिवस्थानेषु सर्वशः ।
किमर्थमम्बिका नास्ति सर्वशैवालयेषु च ॥

इति चिन्त्य ततो ब्रह्मा कामाक्ष्याश्चित्रमित्यपि ।
विज्ञाय ज्ञानदृष्ट्या तु कामकोष्ठमहीतले ॥
कामाक्ष्यास्सन्निधिं प्राप्य ध्यात्वाराध्य महेश्वरीम् ।
सर्वालयेषु शैवेषु सर्वलोकस्थितेषु च ॥
यथा शम्भुस्तथा गौरी सदा सान्निध्यकांक्षया ।
हृदि ध्यात्वा तु कामाक्षीं द्वादशाब्दं तपोऽकरोत् ॥
ततः प्रसन्ना सा देवी कामाक्षी भक्तिकामदा ।
तत्र ब्रह्माणमालोक्य वचनं चेदमब्रवीत् ॥

* * *

शिवजित्क्षेत्रमित्युक्तमिदं क्षेत्रं विना भुवि ।
सर्वालयेषु शैवेषु सन्निधत्तां सदाम्बिका ॥

[कामाक्षीविलासम्—१४, ९-१२ ; ३१, ३२ ; ६८-७३, ७५.]

purā pañcaśaro'naṅgaḥ pratyakṣāṅgābhilāṣayā ||
kāmakoṣṭhaṁ samāsādya kāmākṣīṁ saṁprapūjya ca |
hṛdi dhyātvā tu tāṁ kāmaḥ tapastepe atiduṣkaram ||
tatastatkāmadevasya tapasā tuṣṭamānasā |
kadācit tatra kāmākṣī mahātripurasundarī ||
prasannā atha mahāśaktiḥ svakaṭākṣanirīkṣaṇāt |
dadau kāmāya divyāṅgaṁ nṛṇāmānandadāyakam ||

* * *

tadā sarveṣu śaiveṣu kailāsādyālayeṣu ca |
yatra yatra sthitāḥ sarvāḥ gaurīḥ svāṁśatayā sthitāḥ ||
samākṛṣya aikyato devī tūṣṇīmāsīcchubhānanā ||

* * *

kadācit atha lokeśaḥ kailāsādyālayeṣu ca |
sevārthaṁ parameśasya samāgatya ālayaṁ tadā ||
devīhīnālayaṁ dṛṣṭvā śivasthāneṣu sarvaśaḥ |
kimarthaṁ ambikā nāsti sarvaśaivālayeṣu ca ||
iti cintya tato brahmā kāmākṣyāḥ citramityapi |
vijñāya jñānadṛṣṭyā tu kāmakoṣṭha mahītale ||
kāmākṣyāḥ sannidhiṁ prāpya dhyātvā ārādhya maheśvarīm |
sarvālayeṣu śaiveṣu sarvalokasthiteṣu ca ||

yathā śaṁbhuḥ tathā gaurī sadā sānnidhyakāṁkṣayā |
hṛdi dhyātvā tu kāmākṣīm dvādaśābdaṁ tapo'karot ||
tataḥ prasannā sā devī kāmākṣī bhaktikāmadā |
tatra brahmāṇamālokya vacanaṁ cedam abravīt ||

* * *

śivajitkṣetram ityuktaṁ idaṁ kṣetraṁ vinā bhuvi |
sarvālayeṣu śaiveṣu sannidhattāṁ sadāṁbikā ||

[*Kāmākṣi-vilāsam — XIV, 9-12; 31, 32; 68-73, 75*]

IV

KĀMAKOṢṬHA IN ANCIENT TAMIL LITERATURE

Kāmakoṣṭham is referred to as *Kāmakoṭṭam* in ancient Tamil Literature. To begin with, Aḍiyārkku-Nallār in his commentary on the *Śilappadikāram* (5, 95-98) quotes an ancient Tamil verse which refers to the exploits of the very ancient ruler Karikālan who made a triumphant tour of the north upto Himālayas and planted his flag of victory on the Mount Meru. That verse is as follows :

கச்சி வளைக்கைச்சி காமக்கோட்டங் காவல்
மெச்சி யினிதிருக்கு மெய்ச்சாத்தன்—கைச்செண்டு
கம்பக் களிற்றுக் கரிகாற் பெருவளத்தான்
செம்பொற் கிரிதிரித்த செண்டு

"*kacchivaḷaikkaicchi kāmakkōṭṭaṁ kāval*
mecciyinitirukku meycchāttan kaicchenḍu
kambak kaḷirṟuk karikāṟperuvaḷattān
chempoṟgiri tiritta chenḍu"

The *Chenḍu*—the club with which Karikāṟperuvaḷattān split the golden mountain is the club of Śāstā who keeps vigil in *Kāmakoṣṭham* of Kāmākṣī referred to as having bangles round Her hands.

This verse brings out the fact that *Kamākoṣṭham* of Kāmākṣi was famous even at the time of Karikāla Coḷan—that is before the time of Tirunāvukkaraśar, Śaṁbandar, and Sundarar.

The meaning of the expression *vaḷaikkaicchi* which refers to Kāmākṣī is borne out by the account given in the *Kāñcipurāṇam* and the *Mūkapañcaśatī*. According to both these works, the impress of the bangles of Goddess Kāmākṣi is seen in the body of Lord Śiva.

स्तनाभ्यामपि बाहुभ्यां संपीड्य वलयैरपि ।
आलिलिङ्ग दृढं लिङ्गं एकचूताह्वयं शिवम् ॥
तदेकाम्रेशलिङ्गं वै तस्या आलिङ्गनोत्सुकम् ।
स्तनकङ्कणमुद्राभ्यां मुद्रितं भूतये भुवः ॥

[काञ्चीमाहात्म्यम्—४५]

stanābhyāmapi bāhubhyāṁ saṁpīḍya valayairapi
āliliṅga dṛḍhaṁ liṅgaṁ ekacūtāhvayaṁ śivam
tadekāmreśaliṅgaṁ vai tasyā āliṅganotsukam
stanakaṅkaṇamudrābhyāṁ mudritaṁ bhūtaye bhuvaḥ

[*Kāñcīmāhātmyam, 45.*]

अङ्कितशङ्करदेहां अङ्कुरितोरोजकङ्कणाश्लेषैः ।
अधिकाञ्चिनित्यतरुणीं अद्राक्षं काञ्चीदद्भुतां बालाम् ॥

[आर्याशतकम्—१५]

aṅkitaśaṅkaradehāṁ aṅkuritor ojakaṅkaṇāśleṣaiḥ
adhikāñcinityataruṇīṁ adrākṣaṁ kāñcīdabhutāṁ bālām

[*Āryāśatakam 15.*]

Tirunāvukkaraśar, who flourished in the 7th century A.D., in his *Tiruttāṇḍagam* of Tiruvaḍigai Vīraṭṭāṇam

(near Panruṭi) uses the word *Kāmakkōṭṭi* in the following verse :

கொழும்பவளச் செங்கனிவாய்க் காமக் கோட்டி
கொங்கையிணை யமர்பொருது கோலங் கொண்ட
தழும்புளவே வரை மார்பில்............

[6-ம் திருமுறை, திருவதிகை வீரட்டாணம்,
அடையாளத் திருத்தாண்டகம், 10]

" koḻumpavaḷacchenganivāykkāmakkōṭṭi
koṅgaiyiṇai yamarporudu kōlaṅkoṇḍa
taḻumbuḷavē varai mārbil "............

This means : 'there is on Lord Śiva's body the impress of the embrace of *Kāmakkōṭṭi* whose lips are red like coral.'

Sambandar, who also flourished in the 7th century A.D., in his Tevāram on Tiruirumpūḷai (Ālaṅguḍi) uses the word *Kāmakkoṭi*. The *Tevāram* is as follows :

நச்சித்தொழுவீர்கள்நமக் கிதுசொல்வீர்
கச்சிப்பொலி காமக் கொடியுடன்கூடி
இச்சித்திரும்பூளையிடங் கொண்ட வீசன்
உச்சித்தலையில் பலி கொண்டுழலூணே

[2-ம் திருமுறை, திருவிரும்பூளை, 4]

nacchittoḻuvīrgaḷ namakkidu śolvīr
kacchippoli kāmakkoṭiyuḍan kūḍi
icchittirumbūlaiyidaṁ koṇḍa vīśan
ucchittalaiyil balikoṇḍuḻalūṇe

Here *kōṭi* appears as *koṭi*. In ancient times, the same symbol was used for the long and short forms of *O*. This is clearly noticed in old stone inscriptions. It was only after the starting of the printing presses that different

symbols were used to indicate the long and short forms of *O*.[1]

1. It is said that the Devī in Kāñcī is called by Sambandar as காமகொடி (*Kāmakoḍi*). But this is not correct. In Sanskrit there are two different letters *ṭa* and *ḍa*. In Tamil, however, there is only one letter *ṭa* which is pronounced as *ḍa* also as in the case of *koḍi*. But the word காமகொடி in Sambandar's Tevaram cannot be pronounced as *koḍi* and should be pronounced as *kōṭi* for the following reasons :

In the *Kāmākṣī-vilāsa* we find the words *Kāmakōṭi* and *Kāmakoṣṭam* used interchangeably in the verses,—

(*i*) *kāmakoṭi smṛtaḥ so'yam*
(*ii*) *tasmāt avaśyaṁ kartavyam kāmakoṣṭasya darśanam*

The copper-plate grant of Vijayagaṇḍagopāla refers to the goddess as *Kāñcī-Kāmakoṭi*. Mūka-kavi in his *Mūkapañcaśati* refers to the goddess as *Kāmakoṭi*.

(*i*) *kāmaparipanthi kāminī*
kameśvarī kāmapīṭha madhyagatā
kāmadughā bhava kamale
kāmakale kāmakoṭi kāmākṣī

(*ii*) *samaravijakoṭi sādhakānandadhāṭī*
mṛduguṇaparipeṭi mukhyakādaṁbavāṭi
muninutaparipāṭi mohitājāṇḍakoṭi
paramaśivavadhūṭi pāṭumāṁ kāmakoṭi

Tirunāvukkaraśar in his *Tiruttāṇḍagam* of *Tiruvadigai-Vīraṭṭāṇam* and Sundaramūrti nāyanār in his *Onakāntanrali Tevaram* in Kāñcī referred to above use the words *Kāmakoṭṭi* and *Kāmakoṭṭam* respectively. The second letter *ṭ* in *koṭṭi* and in *koṭṭam* followed by the letter *ṭ* cannot be pronounced as *ḍ*. Nor are the words pronounced as *koḍḍi*. Instead they are pronounced as *koṭṭi* and *koṭṭam*. In the same manner the word காமகொடி in Sambandar's Tevāram must be pronounced as *kāmakoṭi* and not as *Kāmakoḍi*.

It should be noted further that the letter *o* in *Kāmakoṭṭi* or *kāmakoṭṭam* is the long from of *o* although only the symbol for short form of *o* (ஒ) was used in Tevāram and stone inscriptions. Spoken Tamil has both short and long forms of *e* (எ). But written Tamil did not have the long form and only the short form served the purpose of both the short and long forms. Consequently the symbol for *e* when used before a consonant was a hook with a tiny circle at the bottom (ெ). Constanzo Giuseppe Beschi in the first part of the 18th Century introduced the symbol for the long form *e* (ஏ). And the symbol for long *e* when used before a consonant was a hook with tiny circles one at the bottom and another at the top (ே).

In the same way written Tamil did have only the short form of *o* (ஒ) And Beschi introduced the symbol for long form of *O* (ஓ). And the symbol for short form of *o* when used before a consonant, say, *ka* followed by the sign ா is கொ and the symbol for long form of *O* is கோ.

Sundaramūrti svāmi in his Tevāram on *Oṇakāntanṟali* in Kāñcī uses the expression *Kāmakkōṭṭam.* The *Tevāram* is as follows :

கச்சி மூதூர்க் காமக்கோட்டம் உண்டாக
நீர் போய், ஊரிடும் பிச்சைகொள்வதென்னே
ஓணகாந்தன் றளியுளீரே
(7-ம் திருமுறை, ஓணகாந்தன் றளி, 6)

kacchimūdūrk kāmakōṭṭam uṇḍāha
nīr pōy, ūriḍum picchaikoḷvadenne
oṇakāntanṟaliyuḷīrē
(7th Tirumurai, Onakāntanṟali, 6)

This passage, according to Aruṇaivaḍivel Mudaliar,[2] means : 'when there exists (*uṇḍāha*) Tirukkāmakōṭṭam in ancient Kacci, why should you go about begging for alms from the public'.

The term *uṇḍāha* cannot be taken, as some say, in the sense that it has come into existence only at the time of Sundarar; if that were the case, Tirunāvukkaraśar who flourished much earlier than Sundarar could not have used the term *Kāmakōṭṭam* at all.

Śekkiḷār in his account of *Tirukkuṟipputtoṇḍanāyanār* in the *Periyapurāṇam* hails the greatness *Kāmakōṭṭam* in the following verse :

[See the article : தமிழ் எழுத்துகள்—அன்று முதல் இன்று வரை By சா. கணேசன் (கையேடு கலைக்காட்சி குழு, இரண்டாவது உலகத்தமிழ் கருத்தரங்கு மகாநாடு, சென்னை, 1968].

Thus till 18th century both the short and long forms of *O* were written with the symbol for short form only although the words were pronounced with short *O* or long *O* as the case might have been. From this it follows that the words காமகோட்டி, காமகோட்டம், and காமகோடி should have to be written as காமகொட்டி, காமகொட்டம், and காமகொடி in works before 18th century.

2. *Tevāram* of Sundaramurti, Dharmapuram Edition, 1964, p. 50

புண்ணியத்திருக் காமக் கோட்டத்துப்
பொலிய முப்பதோடிரண்டறம் புரக்கும். [71]

pnṇṇiyattirukkāmakoṭṭattuppoliya
muppadoḍiraṇḍaram purakkum

This refers to Goddess Kāmakṣi presiding over the Kāmakōṭṭam fostering the thirty two virtues.

The reference to *Śāstā* as the guardian deity of the *Kāmakoṭṭa* by Aḍiyārkkunallār in his commentary on the *Śilappadikāram* confirms the fact that the present Kāmākṣī temple in Kāñcī is the same as the *Kāmakōṭṭa* of Karikāla of ancient times. Even to this day the shrine of *Śāstā* is situated in the first *prākāra* of the temple.[3] Śekkilar's *Periapurāṇam* also corroborates the identity of the Kāmākṣī temple with *Kāmakōṭṭam* by recording the fact that one who enters the *Kāmakōṭṭa* fails to locate the four quarters correctly — a unique and special phenomena of the Kāmākṣi temple.

அந்தமின்றி நல்லறம் புரிந்தளிக்கும்
அம்மைதன் திருக்காமக் கோட்டத்தில்
வந்து சந்திரசூரியர் மீதுவழிக்
கொளாதன் மருங்கு போதலினல்,

3. The worship of Śāstā or Śāttān, or Āryan or Aiyanār is prevalent in South India. In fact many of the villages such as Śāttanūr, Śāttamangalam, Śāttappāḍi, Villupuram-Śāttanūr and the like are named after Śāsta or Śāttān. These villages have, besides temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu, temples dedicated to Śāstā. In Villupuramśāttanūr, there are temples and pūjā-sthalas dedicated to Śāstā in eight directions. In Tirunelveli district, the worship of Śāstā is known as Śāstā-prīti and it is performed with Vedic mantras. The place Āryankāvu wherein Śāstā or Āryan is worshipped predominantly is named after Śāstā or Āryān. Sri Śaṅkara in his *Śivapādādi-keśāntastotra* offers salutations to Śāstā. It follows from the above that the idol of Śāstā in the temple of Kāmākṣī is that of a god well-known in the Hindu pantheon and worshipped by the Hindus.

சந்தமா திரமயங்கி யெம்மருங்கும்
சாயை மாறிய தன்றிசை மயக்கம்
இந்த மாநிலத் தவரெலாம் காண
என்றும் உள்ள தொன்றின்றும் அங்குளதால்-74

andaminṟi nallaṟam purindaḷikkum
ammaitan tirukkāmakōṭṭattil
vandu candira sūriyar mīdu vaḷik
koḷādan maruṅgu pōdalināl
canda mādira mayaṅki emmaruṅgum
cāyai māṟiyadanṟiśai mayakkam
inda mānilattavarelām kāṇa
enṟum uḷḷadonṟinṟum aṅguḷadāl "-(74)

From what has been said so far it would have become clear that *Kāmakkoṭṭa*—the abode of *Kāmākṣī* has been very popular even at the time of the ancient king Karikala Coḷan. The reverence with which all the three Nāyanmars refer to the *Kāmakkoṭṭam* reveals the importance of the *Kāmakkoṭṭam* in the religious life of the people.

V

STONE INSCRIPTIONS

That the seat of Goddess in the Śiva temples outside the limits of Kānci is referred to as Kāmakoṣtha can be seen from the various inscriptions found in Śiva temples in South India. The book entitled *South Indian Temple Inscriptions* published by the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, contains several such inscriptions which are as follows:

1. சிதம்பரம்: கொவிலுக்கும் திருக்காமக் கொட்டமு (டை*) டய பெரியநாச்சியாருக்கும் சாத்தி யருள.[1]

Chidambaram: kovilukkum tirukkāmakoṭṭamuḍ(ai)aya periya nācciyārukkum śāttiyaruḷa

2. அவிநாசி: கொவிலில் திருக்காமக் கொட்டத்துநாச்சியார் பெருங் கருணை.[2]

Avināśi: koilil tirukkāmakoṭṭattu nācciyār peruṅkaruṇai

3. விஜயமங்கலம்: திருநாகிசுவர முடையார் திருக்காமக்கொட்டத் தாளு[டை*]ட [ய*] நாச்சியார்க்கு அமுதுபடி.[3]

Vijayamaṅgalam: tirunāgīśuvaramuḍaiyār tirukkāmakoṭṭattāḷuḍ (ai) (ya) nācciyārkku amudupaḍi.

4. திருவொத்தியூர்: திருவொத்தியூருடைய நாயனார் கொயிர்த் திருக்காமக்கொட்டமுடைய நாச்சியார்க்கு வெண்டும் நிமந்தங்களுக்கு.[4]

Tiruvottiyūr: tiruvottiyūruḍaiya nāyanār koyirtirukkāmakkoṭṭamuḍaiya nācciyārukku veṇḍum nimandaṅgaḷukku.

5. திருப்பாலைவனம்: திருப்பாலவனமுடைய நாயனார் திருக்காமக் கொட்டம் இயாதிலும் பாபாதி நாச்சியார்க்கு.[5]

Tiruppālaivanam: tiruppālavanamuḍaiya nāyanār tirukkāmakoṭṭam iyādiluṁ pāpādi nācciyārkku.

6. திருக்காட்டுப்பள்ளி: திருக்காமக்கொட்டமுடைய நாச்சியார் அழகமர் மங்கையார்க்கு.[6]

1. *South Indian Temple Inscriptions* (Govt.. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras) Part I, No. 14, p. 22.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 197, p. 190.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 267, p. 248.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 530, p. 517.
5. *Ibid.*, No. 539, p. 528.
6. *Ibid.*, Part II, No. 597, p. 586.

திருக்காமக்கொட்டமுடைய பெரிய நாச்சி யார் அழகமர் மங்கையாருக்குக் கற்றளி.[1]

Tirukkāṭṭuppalli: *tirukkāmakkoṭṭamuḍaiya nācciyār al̲agamar mangaiyārkku.*

tirukkāmakkoṭṭamuḍaiya periyanācciyār al̲agamar mangaiyārukkuk kar̲r̲aḷi.

7. வல்லம் : இக்கொயில் சி(வ) காமகொட்டமுடைய ஞச்சியார்க்கும் வெண்டும் நிமத்தத்துக்கு.[2]

Vallam: *ikkoil śi(va) kāmakoṭṭamuḍaiya nācciyārkkum veṇḍum nimittattukku.*

8. திருப்பழனம் : இக்கொயிலில் பூஜை நிலைகளும் திருக்காமக் கொட்டமுடைய நாச்சியார் கொயில் பட்டா சாரிய நிலையும்.[3]

நான் எழுந்தருளிவித்த திருக்காமக்கொட்ட முடையார் திருப்பழனத்துடையாற்கு.[4]

இன்ஞயநார் திருக்காமகொட்டமுடைய பெரிய நாச்சியார்.[5]

Tiruppal̲anam: *ikkoilil pūjainilaihaḷum tirukkāmakkoṭṭamuḍaiya nācciyārkoil bhaṭṭācāriya nilaiyum*

nan el̲undaruḷivitta tirukkāmakkoṭṭamuḍaiyār tiruppal̲anattuḍaiyār̲kku.

innāyanār tirukkāmakoṭṭamuḍaiya periya nācchiyār.

9. கோவிலடி : இக்கொயிலில் நான் எழுந்தருளிவித்த திருக்காமக் கொட்டமுடைய அகில நாயகியாற்கு பூஜெக்கும்.[6]

1. *Ibid.*, No. 598, p. 586.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 635, p. 613.
3. *Ibid*,, No. 1042, p. 975
4. *Ibid.*, No. 1048, p. 980.
5. *Ibid.*, No. 1049, p. 981.
6. *Ibid.*, Pt. III, Sect. I, No. 1175, p. 1152.

Koviladi: *ikkoilil nān el̲undaruḷivitta tirukkāmakkoṭṭamuḍaiya akhilanāyakiyār̲kku pūjaikkum.*

10. ஹஸ்திகிரி : ஸ்ரீபுரவராதிசுபர காமகொட்டி(டி)ம்பிகாலப்தவர பிரஸாத.[1]

Hastigiri: *śrī puravarādiśubara kāmakoṭṭi(ṭi)mbhikāla-bdhavarapraśāda.*

11. சிதம்பரம் :

देव्या (स्तस्या) शिखरिदुहितुः कामकोष्ठस्थितायाः
प्राकारज्यामपिदयितमसौक्लुप्तवान् मण्डपञ्च ।
किञ्चैतस्याः स्वपति नटनास्थान योग्यप्रकारं
सन्यं भक्त्या सुकरमकरोत् भूषणं मौलिपूर्वम् ॥[2]
पीताम्बरं काञ्चनमेष देव्याः तत् कामकोष्ठस्थितिमास्थितायाः ।
चकार यद्वैरिविलासिनीनां वनाग्निधूमाम्बरतां करोति ॥[3]

Chidambaram: *devyāstasyāḥ śikhariduhituḥ kāmakoṣṭhasthitāyāḥ.*
prākārajyāmapidayitamāsaukḷptavān maṇḍapañca.
kiñcaitasyāḥ svapati nāṭanāsthānayogyaprakāraṁ
satyaṁ bhaktyā sukaramakarot bhūṣaṇaṁ maultipūrvam.
pitāṁbaram kāñcanameṣa devyāḥ tat kāmakoṣṭhasthitam āstitāyāḥ.
cakāra yadvairivilāsinīnāṁ vanāgnidhūmāmbaratām karoti.

12. மேலூர் : (பொன்னெரி தாலுக்கா, செங்கல்பட்டு ஜில்லா) திருக்காமகொட்டமுடைய திருவிடை நாச்சி யாருக்கு.[4]

Melur: (Ponneri Taluk, Chinglepet Dist.) *tirukkāmakoṭṭamuḍaiya tiruviḍainācciyārukku.*

1. *Ibid.*, Part III, Section I, No. 1209, p. 1220.
2. *Ibid.*, Part II, Section II, Nos. 1271-73, pp. 1321-23.
3. *Ibid.*, The work Rājarajan Ulā speaks of Chidambaram as 'tirukkāma-koṭṭamum śur̲r̲umāligaiyum.'
4. *A. R.* No. 139 of 1916.

13. திருச்சத்திமுத்தம்: திருக்காமகொட்டமுடைய நாச்சியார் கீழ்திக மடவளாகம்.[1]

Tirucchattimuttam: *tirukkāmakoṭṭamuḍaiya nācciyār kīḻtika maḍavalāgam.*

14. இளையாத்தகுடி: காமகொட்ட நாச்சியார்.[2]

Ilayāttaguḍi: *kāmakoṭṭa nācchiyār.*

It is to be specifically noted here that in the *Tevāram* relating to Ālaṅguḍi to which reference has been made earlier, Sambandar refers to the Goddess not merely as *Kāmakoṭi* but as *Kāmakoṭi* of Kacchi. Thus in unmistakable terms he says that the *sanctum* of the Goddess of the local shrine is the seat of the *śakti* manifested by the Goddess of the *Kāmakoṣṭha* of Kāñcī.

VI

Śilpa texts also speak of the seat of the Goddess as *Kāmakoṣṭha*. For instance, the *śilpa* text *Mānasāra* states:

कामकोष्ठविधिं वक्ष्ये (६५-१)

kāmakoṣṭhavidhiṁ vakṣye (65, 1)

The Śaiva-āgamas — the *Sūkṣmāgama* and the *Karuṇāgama* refer to the seat of the Goddess as *Kāmakoṣṭha*.

(*i*) कामकोष्ठविधिं वक्ष्ये शृणु त्वं तत् प्रभञ्जन ॥

[सूक्ष्मागमे शक्तिप्रतिष्ठाकामकोष्ठविधिपटल:]

kāmakoṣṭhavidhiṁ vakṣye śṛṇu tvaṁ tat prabhañjana.

[Sūkṣmāgama: śaktipratiṣṭhā-kāmakoṭi-vidhipaṭala]

1. *A. R.* No. 487 of 1908.
2. Kailāsanātha Temple, Ilayāttaguḍi.

(*ii*) भोगाङ्गमर्चनं कुर्यात् सर्वसंपत्समृद्धिदम् ।
रात्रौ पूजावसाने तु अर्धयामेन कारयेत् ॥
मन्दिरस्योत्तरे भागे कामकोष्ठस्य मध्यमे ॥

[करुणागमे योगाङ्गार्चनभाग:]

bhogāṅgamarcanaṁ kuryāt sarvasampatasamṛddhidam |
rātrau pūjāvasāne tu ardhyāmena kārayet ||
mandirasya uttare bhāge kāmakoṣṭhasya madhyame ||

[Karuṇāgama: Yogāṇgārcana-bhāga]

Further, the *Lalitā-Sahasranāma* refers to the Goddess as *Kāmakoṭikā*, [त्रिकूटा कामकोटिका, *trikūṭā kāmakoṭikā]*, the *Lalitā-triśatī* as *Kāmakoṭinilayā* [कामेश्वरी कामकोटिनिलया, *kāmeśvarī kāmakoṭinilayā]* and the *Lalitā-aṣṭottara* as *Kāmakoṭi-mahāpadma-pīṭhasthā* [कामकोटिमहापद्मपीठस्थायै नमो नम:, *kāmakoṭimahāpadmapīṭhasthāyai namo namaḥ]*. Thus in the three stotras, the abode of the Goddess is referred to as *Kāmakoṭi*.

VII

A reference to this *Kāmakoṭṭa* is found in an inscription in a Jaina centre Śāttamangalam which is two and a half miles away from Vandavāśi. It is dated in the 14th century of Pallava Nandivarman II and it records an endowment for the feeding of Jain ascetics. This inscription says that one who violates the terms of that endowment would incur the sin of destroying the *Kāmakoṭṭa*:

............இவ்வறமு ரோங்காப்
போமாக; ஒட்டினல் காமக்கொட்ட மழித்த
பாவமாக...............

............*ivvaramu rongāp*
pōmāha;oṭṭināḻ kāmakkōṭṭamaḻitta
pāvamāha............

From this it is clear that *Kāmakoṭṭa* was held sacred even at the time of Pallava Nandivarman.

VIII

We said earlier that there is a cave (*guhā*) inside the *sanctum* of Kāmākṣī temple and Goddess Kāmākṣī is present there in the form of the *akāśa* (ether) inside the cave (*guhākāśa*.) This is affirmed by the *Kāncīpurāṇa* and the *Kāmākṣī-vilāsa.*

सखीभिः तत्र संमन्त्र्य प्राप्य काञ्चीपुरं शुभम् ।
तपस्स्थानं बिलं सूक्ष्मं परमं व्योम तत्स्मृतम् ॥

[काञ्चीपुराणे एकत्रिंशोऽध्यायः]

sakhībhiḥ tatra sammantrya prāpya kāñcīpuraṁ śubham |
tapassthānaṁ bilaṁ sūkṣmaṁ paramaṁ vyoma tatsmṛtam ||

[Kāñcipurāṇa, 31.]

अथ तत्र नृपश्रेष्ठ कामकोटिमहीतले ।
सिद्धतीर्थस्य चेशाने तृतीयांशे महाबिलम् ॥
तपस्स्थानं बिलं सूक्ष्मं परमं व्योम तत्स्मृतम् ।
बिलरूपेण वै काञ्च्यां प्रत्यक्षं मोक्षदं परम् ॥

[कामाक्षीविलासे एकादशोऽध्यायः]

atha tatra nṛpaśreṣṭha kāmakoṭimahītale |
siddhatīrthasya ceśāne tṛtīyāṁśe mahābilam ||
tapassthānaṁ bilaṁ sūkṣmaṁ paramaṁ vyoma tatsmṛtam |
bilarūpeṇa vai kāñcyāṁ pratyakṣaṁ mokṣadaṁ paraṁ ||

[Kāmākṣīvilāsa, 11.]

To the north-west of the entrance to this cave, Kāmākṣī appears as doing penance, resting one foot on the ground and resting her right hand on her heart. This form is

known as *tapaskāmākṣī*. To her left is seen Goddess Kāmākṣī in the sitting posture with a bow of sugarcane in one hand, flower arrows in another, noose in the third, and goad in the fourth.

धनुर्बाणान् पाशं सृणिमपि दधाना करतलैः ।
पुरस्तादास्तां नः पुरमथितुरहो पुरुषिका ॥

[सौन्दर्यलहरी, ७]

dhanurbhāṇān pāśaṁ sṛṇimapi dadhānā karatalaiḥ
purastādāstāṁ naḥ puramathituraho puruṣikā ||

[Saundaryalaharī, 7.]

कञ्चन काञ्चीनिलयं करधृतकोदण्डबाणसृणिपाशम् ।
कठिनस्तनभरनम्रं कैवल्यानन्दकन्दमवलम्बे ॥

[आर्याशतकम्, २]

kañcana kāñcīnilayaṁ karadhṛtakodaṇḍabāṇasṛṇipāśam |
kaṭinastanabharanamraṁ kaivalyānandakandamavalaṁbe ||

[Āryaśataka, 2.]

There is a *Śrīcakra* consecrated by Śri Śaṅkarācārya in front of the Goddess. There are inscriptions which refer to the *Kumbhābhiṣeka* of the Kāmākṣī temple in recent centuries and to the refixing firmly of the *śrīcakra* — the original *pīṭha*[1]

Thus we see that the same Goddess is present as formless in the ethereal space inside the cave (*bilākāśa*), with a form in the sitting posture and in the form of a

1. *vide* : Dattmāñci Narasimhādhvari's Inscriptions :
   i. *pīṭhīmādyāṁ abhedyām akṛtakṛtamatiḥ śrīnṛsiṁ hādhvarīndraḥ*, No. 350.
   ii. *narasiṁhādhvarī pīṭhīṁ ajīghaṭat*, No. 349.
   Annual Report on Epigraphy, 1954-'55.

yantra in the *śrīcakra*. There is a *dharmastaṁbha* or *jayastaṁbha* in a small *maṇṭapa* situated in front of the *gopura* on the way to the inner *prākāra* from the outer one. Śekkilār, as we have referred to earlier, says that Goddess Kāmākṣī by remaining here, fostered the thirty two virtues mentioned in the scriptures.

புண்ணியத்திருக்காமகோட்டத்துப்பொலிய
முப்பத்தோடிரண்டறம் புரக்கும்

puṇṇiyattirukkāmakoṭṭattuppoliya
muppattoḍiraṇḍaraṁ purakkum

This explains the significance of the names of the Goddess such as *dharmiṇī dharmavardhanī*[1] and the like occurring in the *Lalitāsahasranāma*.

When we go around the *gāyatrīmaṇṭapa* at the Kamākṣī temple, we find Goddess Śyāmalā with a *vīṇā* in Her hand. This form is described in the *Śyāmalā-daṇḍaka* of Kālidāsa thus :

माणिक्यवीणामुपलालयन्तीं
मदालसां मञ्जुलवाग्विलासाम् ।
माहेन्द्रनीलद्युतिकोमलाङ्गीं
मातङ्गकन्यां मनसा स्मरामि ॥

māṇikyavīṇāṁ upalālayantīm
madālasāṁ mañjulavāgvilāsām |
māhendranīladyutikomalāṅgīṁ
mātaṅgakanyāṁ manasā smarāmi ||

To the south of the *sanctum* of the Kāmākṣī temple, there is a shrine which is one of the hundred and eight

1. *Lalitāsahasranāma*, verse, 176.

divyadeśas celebrated by the Ālvārs. The presiding deity of this shrine is known as Kalvar. In the list of the one hundred and eight shrines, Kalvar is referred to as Ādivarāhamūrti.

इस दिव्यदेश के आराध्यदेव आदिवराह भगवान् अञ्जिलैवल्लि लक्ष्मीसमेत वामन विमान में पश्चिमाभिमुख खडे हुए हैं। कामाक्षीदेवी के मन्दिर में एक ओर दर्शन दे रहे हैं। इनका साक्षात्कार अश्वत्थनारायण ने और मङ्गलाशासन संत परकाल ने किया है। यह दिव्यदेश और इसकी नित्यपुष्करिणी अब लुप्त हैं।

is divyadeś ke arādhyadev ādivarāh bhagavān añjilaivalli lakṣmīsameta vāman vimān mem paścimābhimukh khāḍe huye | kāmākṣīdevī ke mandir meṁ ek or darśan de rahe haim. | inkā sākṣātkār aśvatthanārāyaṇ ne aur maṅgalāśāsan samt parakāl ne kiyā hai. | yah divyadeś aur iskī nityapuṣkariṇī adya lupta hai |

When Lakṣmidevī was complaining about her husband—Viṣṇu to Goddess Kāmākṣī, Viṣṇu overheard this talk and thus came to be known as Kalvar. To the north of this *sanctum* there is the *mūrti* of Goddess Lakṣmi as affected by the curse of Lord Viṣṇu. This *mūrti* is known as *arūpalakṣmī*. It is customary for devotees to offer the *kumkum* received as *prasāda* of Goddess Kamākṣī at the feet of *arūpalakṣmī* and then to take it reverently for their use.

X

Thus as Goddess Kamākṣī has withdrawn her powers into the *bilākāśā* there is no separate *sanctum* for the Goddess in any of the Śiva temples in Kāñcī. This we know only from *Kāñcī-sthala-purāṇa* and *Kāmākṣī-Vilāsa*. If these two

1. *vide*: *Tirthāṅk*, Annual Number of Kalyan for the year 1957. p.92.

works are not handed down to posterity, one cannot explain the millennium-old temple construction scheme without a *sanctum* for Goddess in any of the Śiva temples within the city limits of *Kāñcī*. The *Ālaṅguḍi Tēvāram* of Sambandar which refers to the seat of Goddess in the Śiva temple at Ālaṅguḍi as *kacchimūdūr kāmakoṭi* makes it clear that the seats of the Goddess in all the Śiva temples are referred to as *Kāmakoṣṭha* because of *śakti* of the Goddess there has emanated from the *bilākāśa* of the *Kāmakoṣṭha* at Kāñcī.

Those who are not able to have a *darśan* of this holy *Kāmakoṣṭha* could daily recite the following verses while taking bath.

तस्मादवश्यं कर्तव्यं कामकोष्ठस्य दर्शनम् ।
न चेन्नित्यं स्नानकाले श्लोकानेतान् पठेन्नर: ॥

स्वामिपुष्करिणीतीर्थं पूर्वसिन्धु: पिनाकिनी ।
शिलाह्रदश्चतुर्मध्यं यावत्तुण्डीरमण्डलम् ॥

मध्ये तुण्डीरभूवृत्तं कम्पा वेगवती द्वयो: ।
तयोर्मध्ये कामकोष्ठं कामाक्षी[1] तत्र वर्तते ॥

1. It is contended that the idol of Kāmakṣī was originally of the form of Buddhist Tārā Devī and that it was fashioned after the *dhyāna-ślokas* of *Śrī-Vidyā*. It is also contended that the *Śvarṇa* Kāmākṣī may be the Goddess of Jain faith—Dharmadevī. These contentions, however, cannot be upheld ; for, neither the Goddess Tārā of Buddhist faith nor the Dharmadevī of Jaina faith has *ikṣukodaṇḍa, puṣpabāṇa, pāśa* and *aṅkuśa*. It cannot be said that all these weapons are rechistelled out of the idols of the goddess of the Buddhist or Jaina faith; for, a new *mūrti* could easily be sculptured instead of rechistelling the idols of goddess of Buddhist or Jaina faith into that of Kāmākṣī. Even admitting for the sake of argument that the idol of Kāmākṣī is the rechistelled form of Tārā, yet it should be noted that Tārā is the Goddess referred to in the *Śrīvidyāmnāya*.

स एव विग्रहो देव्या: मूलभूतोऽद्रिराड् भुव: ।
नान्योऽस्ति विग्रहो देव्या: काञ्च्यां तन्मूलविग्रह: ॥

जगत्कामकलाकारं नाभिस्थानं भुव: परम् ।
पादपद्मस्य कामाक्ष्या: महापीठं उपास्महे ॥

कामकोटिस्स्मृतस्सोयं कारणादेव चिन्नभ: ।
यत्र कामकृतो धर्मो जन्तुना येन केन वा ॥

सकृद्वापि सुधर्माणां फलं फलति कोटिश: ।
यो जपेत् कामकोष्ठेऽस्मिन् मन्त्रमिष्टार्थदैवतम् ।

कोटिवर्णफलेनैव मुक्तिलोकं स गच्छति ।
यो जपेत् कामकोष्ठेऽस्मिन् क्षणार्धं वा तदर्धकम् ॥

मुच्यते सर्वपापेभ्य: साक्षाद् देवी नराकृति: ।
गायत्रीमण्डपाधारं भूनाभिस्थानमुत्तमम् ॥

पुरुषार्थप्रदं शम्भो: बिलाभ्रं तन्नमाम्यहम् ।
य: कुर्यात् कामकोष्ठस्य बिलाभ्रस्य प्रदक्षिणम् ॥

पदसंख्याक्रमेणैव गोगर्भजननं लभेत् ।
विश्वकारणनेत्राढ्यां श्रीमत्त्रिपुरसुन्दरीम् ॥

भण्डकासुरसंहर्त्रीं कामाक्षीं तामहं भजे ।
पराजन्मदिने काञ्च्यां महाभ्यन्तरमार्गत: ॥

योऽर्चयेत् तत्र कामाक्षीं कोटिपूजाफलं लभेत् ।
तत्फलोत्पन्नकैवल्यं सकृत्कामाक्षिसेवया ॥

त्रिस्थाननिलयं देवं त्रिविधाकारमच्युतम् ।
प्रतिलिङ्गाग्रसंयुक्तं भूतबन्धं तमाश्रये ॥

tasmāt avaśyam kartavyaṁ kāmakoṣṭhasya darśanam |
na cennityaṁ snānakāle ślokānetān paṭhennaraḥ ||

svāmipuṣkariṇitīrthaṁ pūrvasindhuḥ pinākinī |
śilāhradaścaturmadhyaṁ yāvat tuṇḍīramaṇḍalam ||

madhye tuṇḍīrabhūvṛttam kampāvegavatī dvayoḥ |
tayormadhye kamakoṣṭhaṁ kāmākṣī tatra vartate ||

sa eva vigraho devyāḥ mūlabhūto' drirāṭ bhuvaḥ |
nā'nyosii vigraho devyāḥ kāñcyāṁ tanmūlavigrahaḥ ||

jagatkāmakalākāraṁ nābhisthānaṁ bhuvaḥ param |
pādapadmasya kāmākṣyāḥ mahāpīṭhamupāsmahe ||

kāmakoṭissmṛtasso'yaṁ kāraṇādeva cinnabhaḥ |
yatra kāmakṛto dharmo jantunā ena kena vā ||

sakṛdvāpi sudharmāṇāṁ phalaṁ phalati koṭiśaḥ |
yo japet kāmakoṣṭe'smin mantramiṣṭārthadaivatam ||

koṭivarṇaphalenaiva muktilokaṁ sa gacchati |
yo vaset kāmakoṣṭhe'smin kṣaṇārdham vā tadardhakam ||

mucyate sarvapāpebhyaḥ sākṣāddevī narākṛtiḥ |
gāyatrīmaṇḍapādhāraṁ bhūnābhisthānamuttamam ||

puruṣārthapradam śambhoḥ bilābhraṁ tannamāmyaham |
yaḥ kuryāt kāmakoṣṭhasya bilābhrasya pradakṣiṇam ||

padasaṅkhyākrameṇaiva gogarbhajananaṁ labhet |
viśvakāraṇanetrāḍhyāṁ śrīmattripurasundarīm ||

bhaṇḍakāsurasaṁhartriṁ kāmākṣīṁ tāmaham bhaje |
parājanmadine kāñcyāṁ mahābhyantaramārgataḥ ||

yo'rcayet tatra kāmākṣīm koṭipūjāphalam labhet |
tatphalotpannakaivalyaṁ sakṛt kāmākṣisevayā ||

tristhānanilayaṁ devaṁ trividhākāramacyutam |
pratiliṅgāgrasaṁyuktaṁ bhutabandham tamāśraye ||

PART TWO

I

Almost all the works dealing with the life of Śrī Śaṅkara called Śaṅkara-vijayas refer to Śrī Śaṅkara getting constructed the temple for Kāmākṣī at Kāñcī and consecrating the *śrīcakra* there. The *Mādhavīya-śaṅkara-vijaya* does not refer to *Kāmākṣī* by name ; yet it states that Śrī Śaṅkara after worshipping Rāmanātha at Rāmeśvaram reached Kāñcī, had a temple built there on the pattern of *paravidyāśaraṇa* and replaced the tāntric mode of worship by the vedic mode.

अभिपूज्य स तत्र रामनाथं
सह पाण्ड्यैः स्ववशे विधाय चौलान् ।
द्रविडाँश्च ततो जगाम काञ्चीं
नगरीं हस्तिगिरेर्नितम्बकाञ्चीम् ॥ [१५—४]

सुरधाम स तत्र कारयित्वा परविद्या [श] (च)रणानुसारि चित्रम् ।
अपवार्य च तान्त्रिकानतानीद्भगवत्याः श्रुतिसंमतां सपर्याम् ॥ [१५—५]

abhipūjya sa tatra rāmanātham saha pāṇḍyaiḥ svavaśe vidhaya colān
draviḍāṁśca tato jagāma kāñcīṁnagarīṁ hastigireḥ nitamba Kāñcīm
[15-4]

suradhāma sa tatra kārayitvā paravidyā [ś] (c) araṇānusāri citram
apavārya ca tāntrikānatānīt bhagavatyāḥ śruti-sammatāṁ saparyām
[15-5]

Here *paravidyāśaraṇānusāricitram* means according to the *śāraṇa* of *para-vidyā*. The eleventh verse of the *Saundarya-laharī* states *tava-śaraṇa-koṇāh pariṇatāḥ*.

Here the reference is to the koṇas or angles of *śrīcakra* which is the seat of *paravidyā*.

The *Cidvilāsīya-śaṅkara-vijaya* says that Śrī Śaṅkara visited Kāñcī and drew and consecrated the *śrīcakra* with his own hand in the temple of *Kāmākṣī* and ascended the *Sarvajña-pīṭha* there.

कामाक्ष्याः पुरतो देशे श्रीचक्रं स्वयमालिखत् ।
श्रीचक्रपश्चाद्भागे तु कामाक्षीं ज्ञानरूपिणीम् ॥
प्रतिष्ठाप्य..
....
आरुरोह अथ सर्वज्ञपीठं देशिकपुङ्गवः ॥

kāmākṣyāḥ purato deśe śrīcakraṁ svayamālikhat
śrīcakrapaścādbhāge tu kāmākṣīm jñānarūpiṇīm
pratiṣṭhāpya ....
....
āruroha atha sarvajñapīṭhaṁ deśikapuṅgavaḥ

The *Ānandagirīya-Śaṅkara-vijaya* has been recognised by competent scholars, western as well as Indian, as the most authentic biography of Śrī Śaṅkara. In his monumental Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Monier Williams refers to two other Śaṅkara-Vijayas besides the present one and considers this to be the authentic one.[1] Referring to

1. (i) *Śaṅkara-dig-vijaya*: name of a fanciful account of the controversia exploits of Śaṅkarācārya (q. v) by Madhavācārya (also called *Saṁkṣepaśaṅkarajaya*).

Professor Wilson's observation regarding the present *Śaṅkara-vijaya*, in his *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, K.T. Telang says that 'Professor Wilson was in effect satisfied with the credentials of this work.'[1]

In the *Guruvaṁśa-kāvya*[2] which purports to give an account of the line of succession of the ācāryas in the Śriṅgeri Maṭha, the first three chapters are devoted to the life of Śaṅkara. Referring to the lineage of Śrī Śaṅkara, the author observes that this has been described already by great poet-seers (*kavīndraiḥ*). In the commentary to the work, *Guruvaṁśa-kāvya*, written by the author himself the expression—*by great poet-seers* is explained thus: '*by Ānandagiri and other great ascetics*'. Sadānanda, in his *Śaṅkara-digvijaya-sāra* observes that the biography of Śrī Śaṅkara has already been written by great ascetics (*yativaraiḥ*). And the expression—'*by great ascetics*' is interpreted in the commentary to mean—'*by Ānandagiri and others*.'[3]

(ii) *Śaṅkara-vijaya*: name of Ānandagiri's biography of Śaṅkarācārya (recording his controversial victories, as a Vedāntin, over numerous heretics)

(iii) *Śaṅkara-vijaya*: name of a fanciful life of Śaṅkarācārya in the form of a dialogue between Cidvilāsa and Vijñānakanda.

A Sanskrit-English Dictionary (The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1899), pp. 1054-5.

1. *The Indian Antiquary*, Volume V, (1876), p. 287.
2. This work was composed under the direction of Śri Saccidānanda Bhāratī Svāmi, Head of the Śriṅgeri Maṭha (1770-1814). and was published by Sri T.K. Balasubramania Iyer at Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam in the year 1928.
3. See for details, *Śrī Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Anantānandagiri*, Published by the Centre of Advanced Study in Philosophy, University of Madras, 1971, pp. i-ii.

In the *Ānandagirīya-Śaṅkara-vijaya* of such great importance, it is said that Śrī Śaṅkara consecrated Kāmākṣī and *śrīcakra* at Kañcī and attained *siddhi* there. It also specifically refers to the fact that Śrī Śaṅkara obtained five *sphaṭika-liṅgas* from Śiva at Kailāsa, established the *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha* at Kāñcī and directed Sureśvara to be in charge of it.

तस्मादुदङ्मार्गमवलम्ब्य योगविद्याप्राप्तवियत्पथसञ्चारः कैलासमधिगम्य पार्वतीसमेतं परमेश्वरं प्रणम्य स्वात्मतयानुसन्धानशीलस्य परमगुरोरग्रतः परमेश्वरः पञ्चस्फाटिकलिङ्गानि प्रकाशयामास । .... केदारक्षेत्रे एकं मुक्तिलिङ्गाख्यं प्रतिष्ठाप्य .... नीलकण्ठक्षेत्रं प्राप्य .... वरनामकं लिङ्गं प्रतिष्ठाप्य (५५) .... शृङ्गगिरि समीपे तुङ्गभद्रातीरे .... निजमठं कृत्वा [६२] .... भोगनामकं लिङ्गं तस्मिन् पीठे निक्षिप्य [६३] .... तत्रैव [काञ्च्यां] निजावासयोग्यं मठमपि परिकल्प्य ....सुरेश्वरमाहूय योगनामकं लिङ्गं पूजय इति तस्मै दत्वा त्वमत्र कामकोटिपीठमधिवस इति व्यवस्थाप्य [६५] ...

tasmādudaṅmārgamavalaṁbya yogavidyāprāptaviyatpathasañcaraḥ kailāsamadhigamya pārvatīsametaṁ parameśvaram praṇamya svātmatayā anusandhānaśīlasya paramaguroragrataḥ parāmeśvaraḥ pañcasphāṭikaliṅgāni prakāśayāmāsa. ......kedāraketre muktiliṅgākhyaṁ pratiṣṭhāpya........ nīlakaṇṭhakṣetraṁ prāpya........varanāmakaṁ liṅgaṁ pratiṣṭhāpya (55th Ch.)........śriṅgagirisamīpe tuṅgabhadrātīre.........nijamaṭham kṛtvā (62nd Ch.)........bhoganāmakaṁ liṅgaṁ tasmin pīṭhe nikṣipya (63rd Ch.).........tatraiva (kāñcyāṁ) nijāvāsayogyaṁ maṭhamapi parikalpya.........sureśvaram āhūya yoganāmakaṁ liṅgaṁ pūjaya iti tasmai dattvā tvamatra kāmakoṭipīṭham adhivasa iti vyavasthāpya (65th Ch.)

This work affirms that Śrī Śaṅkara attained *siddhi* at Kāñcī.

...... स्वयं स्वलोकं गन्तुमिच्छुः काञ्चीनगरे मुक्तिस्थले कदाचिदुपविश्य ...... सर्वजगद्व्यापकरूपचैतन्यमभवत् [७४].

...svayaṁ svalokaṁ gantumicchuḥ kāñcīnagare muktisthale kadācidupaviśya ...sarvajagadvyāpakarūpacaitanyamabhavat ... Chapter 74.

The *Jagadguru-pāraṁparya-stuti*[1] and the *Guruparaṁparā-stotra* published by Dr Hultzch in his report on *The Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in South India*[2] states that Śrī Śaṅkara attained *siddhi* at Kāñcī.

The *Jagadgurupāramparyastuti* and the Hultzch Manuscript in the first few verses briefly narrate a few events in Śrī Śaṅkara's life. It is stated in the former work that Śrī Śaṅkara reached Kāñcī from the banks of the river Tuṅgabhadrā, consecrated Kāmākṣī and attained eternal bliss there.

स्वेच्छया पर्यटन् भूमौ ययौ काञ्चीपुरीं गुरुः ।
तत्र संस्थाप्य कामाक्षीं देवीं परं अगात् पदम् ॥

sveccayā paryaṭan bhūmau yayau kāñcīpurīṁ guruḥ
tatra samsthāpya kāmākṣīṁ devīṁ paraṁ agāt padam

This is given in the Hultzch manuscript with slight variation in phraseology :

अगच्छत् स्वेच्छया काञ्चीं पर्यटन् पृथ्वीतले ।
तत्र संस्थाप्य कामाक्षीं जगाम परमं पदम् ॥

agacchat svecchayā kāñcīm paryaṭan pṛthvītale
tatra saṁsthāpya kāmākṣīm jagāma paraman padam

The verse in these two lists thus substantiates the version of the *Ānandagirīya-Śaṅkara-vijaya* that Śrī Śaṅkara attained *siddhi* at Kāñcī.

1. Published by the Seshadri Press, Mysore, 1946.
2. Published by the Government Press, Madras, 1905. See Part III, No. 2146.

The *Patañjali-Carita* by Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita deals with the life of Śaṅkarācārya in the last chapter and concludes by saying that Śaṅkarācārya spent his last days at Kāñcī.[1]

गोविन्ददेशिकमुपास्य चिराय भक्त्या तस्मिन् स्थिते निजमहिम्नि विदेहमुक्त्या।
अद्वैतभाष्यमुपकल्प्य दिशो विजित्य काञ्चीपुरे स्थितिमवाप स शंकरार्यः॥

govindadeśikaṁ upāsya cirāya bhaktyā tasmnn sthite nijamahimni videhamuktyā|
advaitabhāṣyamupakalpya diśo vijitya kāñcīpure sthitimavāpa sa śaṅkarāryaḥ||

Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita in his work *Śaṅkarābhyudaya* states that Śaṅkarācārya during his last days stayed at Kāñcī worshipping Kāmeśvarī on the banks of *Kaṁpā* and attained *siddhi* there.[2]

कम्पातीरनिवासिनीं अनुदिनं कामेश्वरीमर्चयन्।
ब्रह्मानन्दमविन्दत त्रिजगतां क्षेमङ्करः शङ्करः॥

kaṁpātīranivāsinīṁ anudinaṁ kāmeśvarīṁ arcayan |
brahmānandamavindata trijagatāṁ kṣemaṅkaraḥ śaṅkaraḥ ||

The great *Itihāsa-Śivarahasya* consists of more than fifty thousand verses. It was published in Canarese script with Kannada translation in the Maharaja Jayachamarajendra Granthamala Series, as volume No. 32 in the year 1950 in thirty volumes. It is referred to as an authority in the *Dharmaśāstra* work *Nirṇaya-Sindhu.* Manuscript copies of this work are available in many private and public libraries including the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, Adyar Library, Oriental Library, Baroda and Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore.

1. Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita: *Patañjali-Carita,* (Kāvyamāla Series, No. 51 Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay), VIII, 71.
2. *Sahṛdaya Saṁpuṭa* IV, *Sañcikā,* X, p. 240. Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam.

The 16th chapter of the 9th *aṁśa* of this work refers to the life and work of Śaṅkarācārya. Towards the end of this chapter, it is said that Śaṅkarācārya worshipped the five *sphaṭika-liṅgas* brought from Kailāsa and attained *siddhi* at *Kāñcī.*

तद्योगभोगवरमुक्तिसुमोक्षयोग-लिङ्गार्चनात्प्राप्तजयस्वकाश्रयम्।
तान्वै विजित्य तरसाऽक्षतशास्त्रवादैः मिश्रान् स काञ्च्यामथ सिद्धिमाप।

tadyogabhogavaramuktisumokṣayoga-liṅgārcanāt prāptajayaḥ svakāśrayam |
tān vai vijitya tarasā akṣataśāstravādaiḥ miśrān sa kāñcyāṁ atha siddhimāpa||

This portion is quoted verbatim in the commentary *Advaita-rājya-lakṣmī* on verse 103 of the 16th Chapter of the *Mādhavīyā-Śaṅkara-Vijaya.* Thus the *Śivarahasya* which is an independent work corroborates the story of Śaṅkarācārya attaining *siddhi* at Kāñcī.

Another work entitled *Mārkaṇḍeya-Saṁhitā* contains particulars about the life of Śaṅkarācārya. The 7th and the 8th sections (*parispandas*) of the 72nd Chapter of this work give an account of the life of Śaṅkarācārya. It is stated therein that five *sphaṭika-liṅgas* were obtained by Śaṅkarācārya from Lord Śiva. It also mentions the various places where Śaṅkarācārya installed them, namely, the *Mokṣa-liṅga* at Cidambāram, the *Mukti-liṅga* at Kedāra, the *Vara-liṅga* at Nīlakaṇṭhakṣetra, the *Bhoga-liṅga* at Śriṅgeri, and the *Yoga-liṅga* at Kāñcī. This work further mentions that Śaṅkarācārya consecrated the *Śricakra* at the Kāmākṣī temple, established the *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha* at Kāñcī, installed Sureśvara as the head of that *pīṭha* and attained *siddhi* there.

गत्वा कैलासशैलं जगदखिलगुरुः शङ्कराचार्ययोगी
दृष्ट्वा साम्बं शिवं तं स्वयमिति सुचिरं चिन्तयन्नन्तरङ्गे ।
लब्ध्वा पञ्चात्मलिङ्गान्यमलतरशुभालिङ्गितान्यङ्गभाजां
भूत्यै सौन्दर्यसारं हिमगिरिदुहितुः प्रापयन् गामयासीत् ॥

काञ्च्यां श्रीकामकोटीं कलिमलशमनीं कल्पयित्वा सुरेशे.
श्रीविद्याराजपीठार्चनमहितमहाराज्यसाम्राज्यलक्ष्मीम् ।
संवेश्यात्मीयशिष्ये सकलभुवनसंमोदहेतोर्महात्मा
चिद्रूपस्वानुभूतिं भजति भवमहाम्भोधिसन्तारणाय ॥

शिवलिङ्गं प्रतिष्ठाप्य चिदम्बरसभातले ।
मोक्षदं सर्वजन्तूनां भुवनत्रयसुन्दरम् ॥

वैदिकान् दीक्षितान् शुद्धान् शैवसिद्धान्तपारगान् ।
पूजार्थं युयुजे शिष्यान् पुण्यारण्यविहारिणः ॥

मुक्तिलिङ्गं तु केदारे नीलकण्ठे वरेश्वरम् ।
प्रतिष्ठाप्य महायोगी परां प्रीतिमवाप सः ॥

काञ्च्यां श्रीकामकोटौ तु योगलिङ्गमनुत्तमम् ।
प्रतिष्ठाप्य सुरेशार्यं पूजार्थं युयुजे गुरुः ॥

श्रीशङ्कराचार्ययोगी शृङ्गगिरिस्थानमगमदखिलेशः ।
श्रीशारदाख्यपीठे शिवलिङ्गं भोगनामकं चक्रे ॥

[मार्कण्डेयसंहिता—७२/७/१०—१६]

gatvā kailāsaśailm jagadakhilaguruḥ śaṅkarācāryayogī
dṛṣṭvā sāṁbaṁ śivaṁ taṁ svayamiti suciraṁ cintayannantaraṅge
labdhvā pañcātmaliṅgānyamalataraśubhāliṅgitānyaṅgabhājāṁ
bhūtyai saundaryasāraṁ himagiriduhituḥ prāpayan gāmayāsīt

kāñcyāṁ śrī kāmakoṭīṁ kalimalaśamanīṁ kalpayitvā sureśe
śrīvidyārājapīṭhārcanamahitamahārājyasāṁrājyalakṣmīm |
saṁveśyātmīyaśiṣye sakalabhuvanasammodahetormahātmā
cidrūpasvānubhūtiṁ bhajati bhavamahāmbhodhisantāraṇāya ||

śivaliṅgaṁ pratiṣṭhāpya cidambarasabhātale |
mokṣadam sarvajantūnāṁ bhuvanatrayasundaram ||

vaidikān dīkṣitān śuddhān śaivasiddhāntapāragān |
pūjārtham yuyuje śiṣyān puṇyāraṇyavihāriṇaḥ ||

muktiliṅgam tu kedāre nīlakaṇṭhe vareśvarm |
pratiṣṭhāpya mahāyogī parām prītimavāpa saḥ ||

kāñchyāṁ śrī kāmakoṭau tu yogaliṅgamanuttamam |
pratiṣṭhāpya sureśāryaṁ pūjārthaṁ yuyuje guruḥ ||

śrī śaṅkarācāryayogī śriṅgagiristhānamagamadakhileśaḥ |
śrī śāradākhyapīṭhe śivaliṅgaṁ bhoganāmakaṁ cakre ||

[Mārkaṇḍeya—saṁhitā, 72/7/10-16.]

श्रीदेशिकः पद्मपदं स्वशिष्यं पाखण्डखण्डार्थमतिप्रचण्डम् ।
शृङ्गाद्रिदेशे श्रिततुङ्गभद्रे नियोजयामास स शङ्करार्यः ॥
सुरेश्वराचार्यवरं स्वशिष्यं काञ्चीपुरीसुन्दरकामकोटौ ।
श्रीचन्द्रमौलीश्वरपूजनार्थं नियोज्य चक्रेऽस्य धराधिपत्यम् ॥

[मार्कण्डेयसंहिता—७३/७/१—२]

śrī deśikaḥ padmapadaṁ svaśiṣyam
pākhaṇḍakhaṇḍārthamatipracaṇḍam |
śriṅgādrideśe śritatuṅgabhadre
niyojayāmāsa sa śaṅkarāryaḥ ||

sureśvarācāryavaraṁ svaśiṣyaṁ
kāñcīpurī-sundara-kāmakoṭau |
śrīcandramaulīśvarapūjanārtham
niyojya cakre asya dharādhipatyam ||

[ibid, 73/7/1-2.]

All these go to prove that Śaṅkarācārya established the *Kāmakoti-pīṭha* at Kāñcī and attained *siddhi* there. But

various other places have been mentioned as the *siddhisthala* of Śrī Śaṅkara. And we shall now deal with this point in some detail.

The *Guruvaṁśa-kāvya* referred to earlier holds Ānandagiri's *Śaṅkara-vijaya* as the authentic biography of Śaṅkarācārya. But as regards the *siddhisthala* of Śaṅkarācārya the *Guruvaṁśa-kāvya* differs from the tradition recorded in the Ānandagiri's *Śaṅkara-vijaya*, namely, that Śaṅkarācārya's *siddhisthala* is Kāñcī. The *Guruvaṁśa-kāvya* while dealing with the last days of Śaṅkarācārya says:

मत्वा यतीन्द्रः कृतकृत्यभावं महत्समाभाषणमाप्तुकाम: ।
स्वच्छन्दचारी मुनिराजदत्तात्रेयस्य रम्याश्रममाजगाम ॥
औकं समस्तान्यपि पुस्तकानि शिष्यान् समस्तानपि तानमुञ्चम् ।
आस्तामिमौ दण्डकमण्डलू चेत्यालोच्य तत्याज स तौ च योगी ॥
दण्डो द्रुरूपेण सपर्यणंसीत्तीर्थात्मना चाम्बु कमण्डलुस्थम् ।
महात्मनो हस्तपरिग्रहेण जडौ च तौ सार्थतनू अभूताम् ॥
दत्तात्रेयं भुवनविनुतं वीक्ष्य नत्वा न्यगादी—
वृत्तं स्वीयं सकलमपि तान् प्रेषितान् दिक्षु शिष्यान् ।
सोऽपि श्रुत्वा मुनिंपतिरदादाशिषो विश्वरूपा-
चार्यादिभ्यो सुखमवसतां तत्र तौ भाषमाणौ ॥

matvā yatīndraḥ kṛtakṛtyabhāvaṁ
mahat samābhāṣaṇamāptukāmaḥ |
svacchandacārī munirājadattā-
treyasya ramyāśramam ōjagāma ||
aukam samastānyapi pustakāni
śiṣyān samasthānyapi tān amuñcam |
āstāmimau daṇḍakamaṇḍalū cet-
yālocya tatyāja sa tau ca yogī ||

daṇḍo drurūpeṇa sa paryaṇamsīt
tīrthātmanā cāmbu kamaṇḍalustham |
mahātmano hastaparigraheṇa
jaḍau ca tau sārthatanū abhūtām ||
dattātreyaṁ bhuvanavinutaṁ vīkṣya natvā nyagādit
vṛttaṁ svīyaṁ sakalamapi tān preṣitān dikṣu śiṣyān |
sopi śrutvā munipatiradādāśiṣo viśvarūpā-
cāryadibhyo sukhamavasatāṁ tatra tau bhāṣamāṇau
(III, 67-70)

Śaṅkarācārya towards the close of his career went from Siddheśvara in Nepal to Dattātreya-Āśrama, left his *daṇḍa* and *kamaṇḍalu* which respectively became a tree and a tank, stayed at the *Dattātreya āśrama* at Mahuripuri conversing with Śrī Dattātreya.

The commentary on the above says:

सोऽपि—दत्तात्रेयोऽपि मुनिपति: विश्वरूपाचार्यादिभ्यो आशिष: अदात्—दत्तवान् । तत्र—महूरिपुरे, भाषमाणौ—संलपन्तौ तौ दत्तात्रेयशङ्कराचार्यौ चिरं—बहुकालं अवसताम्—उषितवन्तौ ।

sopi-dattātreyopi munipatiḥ viśvarūpācāryādibhyo āśiśaḥ adāt-dattavān. tatra mahūripure, bhāṣamāṇau-saṁlapantau tau-dattātreya śaṅkarācāryau ciram-bahukālaṁ avasatāṁ-uṣitavantau.

This Mahuripuri is referred to in the *Tīrthāṇka* which has a shrine of Dattātreya.[1]

मध्यरेल्वे की भुसावल नागपूर लैन पर मूर्तिंजापूर स्टेशन है । वहां से एक लैन यवतमाल तक जाती है । यवतमाल से माहूरक्षेत्र समीप है । माहूरक्षेत्र में अनसूयादत्त पर्वत पर महर्षि जमदग्नि कि समाधि है । रेणुकादेवी का मन्दिर है । और परशुराम कुण्ड है । कहा जाता है कि भगवान दत्तात्रेय का आश्रम यहीं था । दत्तात्रेय

1. Annual Number of *Kalyan* for the year 1957, p. 239.

जी जमदग्नि ऋषि के गुरु थे। गुरु की आज्ञा से महर्षि जमदग्नि अपनी पतनी रेणुकादेवी के साथ यहां आये और यहीं उन्हों ने तथा रेणुका जी ने समाधि लि। किले के भीतर महाकाली का मन्दिर तथा सरोवर है।

madhyarelve kī bhusāval nāgpur lain par mūrtijāpūr steśan hai. vahāṁ se ek lain yavatmāl tak jātī hai. yavatmāl se māhūrkṣetra samīp hai. māhūrkṣetra meṁ auasūyādattaparvat par maharṣi jamadagni ki samādhi hai. reṇukā devī kā mandir hai. aur paraṣurām kuṇḍa hai. kahā jātā hai bhagavān dattātreya kā āśrama yahim thā. dattātraeyajī jamadagniṛśi ke guru the. guru kī ājñā se maharṣi jamadagni apni patnī reṇukā devī ke sāt yahāṁ āye aur yahīm unhom ne tathā reṇukā ji ne samādhi lī. kile ke bhītar mahākāli ka mandir tathā sarovar hai.

पारिकाङ्क्षीश्वरोऽपि आपदुद्धारकं सेवमानातुलस्वस्तिविस्तारकम् ।
पापदावानलतापसंहारकं योगिवृन्दाधिप: प्राप केदारकम् ॥ [१६—१००]

pārikāṅkṣīśvaro'pi āpaduddhārakam
sevamānātulasvastivistārakam |
pāpadāvānalātāpasāṁhārakam
yogivṛndadhipaḥ prāpa kedārakam ||

(16-100)

The *Cidvilāsīya-Śaṅkara-Vijaya* reads as follows :

वितन्वन् बदरीं प्राप तपोदानकृताश्रयाम् ।
दिनानि कतिचित् तत्र स्वच्छन्दमवसत् सुखी ॥ [३१—२५]

इत्युक्त्वा शङ्कराचार्यकरपल्लवमादरात् ।
अवलम्ब्य कराग्रेण दत्तात्रेयस्स तापस: ॥
प्रविवेश गुहाद्वारं दत्त्वाऽऽज्ञां जनसन्तते: ।
क्रमात् जगाम कैलासं प्रमथै: परिवेष्टितम् ॥ [३१—४८, ४४]

vitanvan badarīm prāpa tapodānakṛtāśrayam |
dināni katicit tatra svacchandaṁ avasat sukhi ||

(31-25)

ityuktvā śaṅkarācāryakarapallavaṁ ādarāt |
avalambya karāgreṇa dattātreyas sa tāpasaḥ ||
praviveśa guhādvāraṁ dattvā ājñāṁ janasantateḥ |
kramāt jagāma kailāsaṁ pramathaiḥ pariveṣṭitam ||

(31-48, 49).

As regards the place where Śaṅkarācārya spent his last days, the *Guruvaṁśa-kāvya* does not follow either the *Mādhavīya-Śaṅkara-Vijaya* which is regarded now-a-days as the authentic biography of Śaṅkara by the authorities of the *maṭha* on the banks of the river *Tuṅgā* and which mentions Kedārnāth as Śaṅkarācārya's last resort or *Cidvilāsīya-Śaṅkara-Vijaya* which refers to the *Dattātreya-guhā* in Badari as the last resort of Śaṅkarācārya.

We can infer from this discussion either that the *Mādhavīya* and the *Cidvilāsīya-Śaṅkara-Vijaya* did not exist when the *Guruvaṁśa-kāvya* was composed; or, that if they existed the authorities of the *maṭha* on the banks of the river *Tuṅgā* were not aware of their existence when they directed the composition of the *Guruvaṁśā-kāvya.*

The tradition recorded in all the versions of Ānandagiri's *Śaṅkara-Vijaya* regarding the final resort of Śaṅkarācārya has not been followed by the author of the *Guruvaṁśa-kāvya* although he considers Ānandagiri to be the most renowned biographer of Śaṅkarācārya. The alteration in the *Guru-vaṁśa-kāvya* that the place of final resort of Śaṅkarācārya's was Mahuripuri which is noted for its shrine of Dattātreya might have paved the way for Cidvilāsa to make a further alteration as regards the place of Śaṅkarācāraya's last resort to a cave in Badari regarded as the abode of Dattātreya.

Thus for one reason or the other the place of Śaṅkarācārya's last resort was changed from place to place, namely, from Kāñcī to Mahuripuri and from there to Badarī and then to Kedārnāth. The latest alteration is to Kashmir found in a work on the life of Śaṅkarācārya in verse form in Sanskrit published under the auspices of the Dvāraka *maṭha* by one Srinivasa Alaya of South Canara, in whose opinion alterations in the details of any hero's life are not wrong, provided they do not lower the dignity of the hero. Although he mentions Kashmir as the place of final resort of Śaṅkarācārya, he declares in the preface to his work that he follows the *Madhāvīya-Śaṅkara-Vijaya*, which, on the other hand, mentions Kedārnāth as the place of final resort.

Dr S. K. Belvalkar referring to Śaṅkarācārya's *siddhisthala* says: 'according to one set of traditions Kāñcī in the South of India is given as the place where the *ācārya* breathed his last. According to other sources, he died at Badrikāśrama disappearing in a cave in the Himalayas. The weight of probability belongs to the first view'.[1]

1- Gopal Basu Mallick Lectures on *Vedānta Philosophy*, p. 240.

vide also : काञ्चीपुर एक प्राचीन महातीर्थ है। .... केवल तीर्थ ही नहीं, काञ्ची महापीठ स्थान है। ...... शिवकांची स्थित एकाम्रनाथ नामक महादेव का आदिलिङ्ग, भगवती कामाक्षी देवी की मूर्ति, भगवान शङ्कराचार्य की प्रतिमा एवं समाधिस्थल ...... कामाक्षी देवी का मन्दिर कुछ छोटा है। इसी के प्राङ्गण में भगवान् शङ्कराचार्य की समाधि है। इसी समाधि पर उनकी प्रस्तरमयी मूर्ति प्रतिष्ठित है।

(हिन्दी विश्वकोश Vol. IV, पृष्ठ-336.)

We may substantiate the above observation by referring to the letter dated 6—7—1958 from Sri Sampurnanand, the then Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh to Dr T. N. Ramachandran, Retired Joint Director of Archeology, Government of India which is as follows: 'there is nothing new to prove that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya died at this spot (Kedārnāth). All that tradition says is that he came to Kedārnāth and in the modern phraseology disappeared thereafter. So what is called a *samādhi* is not a *samādhi* but a memorial'.

The letter of Svami Sahajananda of Guruvayur written from Badrināth and published in 'The Hindu' dated 19—6—1959 is as follows: 'On enquiry from the Joshi Mutt they say that it is only a *saṅkalpa samādhi* and that the *actual samādhi* is not on the spot'.

We shall conclude this section by pointing out that on the basis of the several texts cited in the earlier section and the two letters referred to above the traditional belief of all the followers of Śaṅkarācārya has been that Śaṅkarācārya's last days were spent at Kāñcī.

III

In order to preserve and propagate the Advaitic tradition for the benefit of posterity Śaṅkarācārya established several monastic institutions all over India. The texts dealing with the Śāṅkarite Institutions are known as Maṭhāmnāyas; and, they are :

(1) *Śaṅkarācārya-jagadguru-maṭhāmnāya*, printed by B. Mishra at the Balabhadra Press, Purī and published by Pandit Yogendra Ashtavadhana Sarma in 1930;

(2) *Unpublished Upaniṣads*, printed and published by the Adyar Library in 1937;

(3) *Śāṅkaragranthāvali* in Bengali script published by Rajendranath Ghosh;

(4) *Yatisandhyāsamuccaya* published by the Dvārakā-pīṭha in 1967;

(5) *Maṭhāmnāya* published by the Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam.

Apart from these, there are manuscript copies of the *Maṭhāmnāya* texts in the Oriental Institute, Mysore and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. These texts give information about the various Śāṅkarite Institutions for the western region (*paścimāmnāya*), eastern region (*pūrvāmnāya*), southern region (*dakṣiṇāmnāya*), northern region (*uttarāmnāya*) and other super-regions (*ūrdhvāmnāya*). A *maṭhāmnāya* text besides other particulars gives information about the *śakti*, the *devatā*, and the *kṣetra* of each *maṭha* of an *āmnāya*, that is, a particular region. All the above mentioned texts, except the one published by the Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, speak of the *śakti* of the southern region as Goddess Kāmākṣī. The one published by the Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam mentions the *śakti* of the southern region not as Kāmākṣī but as Śāradā. The deity worshipped in the Śriṅgeri-*maṭha* is referred to by that

maṭha as *Śaradā-Candramaulīśvara*. But Śāradā is the *śakti* of Brahmā and the sister of Candramaulīśvara.[1]

We must now enquire into the reason for the discrepancy between the readings of the *Maṭhāmnāya* published by the Vani Vilas Press, and the many other Maṭhāmnāyas referred to above. And this requires a consideration of a view that Śrī Śaṅkara established four maṭhas in the four corners of India.

We find the institutions for the Northern, Western and the Eastern regions are situated in the respective corners of India. The institution for the southern region, according to a work—*The Greatness of Sringeri* is at Śriṅgeri on the banks of *Tuṅgā* which, however, is situated only in the North-West portion of South India and not in the southern corner of India. As regards this, Sri Mahadeva Rajaram Bodas of Bombay observes in his work *Śaṅkarācārya* in Marathi thus: "We can say that the four mutts were established at four *dhāms*; but we see that neither the institution at Śriṅgeri nor the one at Kāñcī is at a *dhām* (corner). They are in the centre of the country. The institution should have been either at Rāmeśvaram or at Kaṇyākumāri."[2]

It is very interesting to note that all the *maṭhāmnāya* texts mentioned above uniformly describe the *kṣetra* of the maṭhas in the four corners (*cār dhāms*), that is, Dvārakā

1. *Sarasvatī-aṣṭottara-nāmāvali*: (i) *brahmajāyāyai mamaḥ* (ii) *śivānujāyai namaḥ*

2. Sri Mahadeva Rajaram Bodas: *Śaṅkarācārya*, (Jagathitecchu Press, Poona, 1923), p. 49.

in the West, Badarī In the North, Purī (Jagannāth) in the East, and Rāmeśvaram in the South. From this we can conclude that Śrī Śaṅkara had in his mind the idea of establishing Maṭhas in the four corners generally known as *cār-dhams,* that is, Dvārakā in the West, Badarī in the North, Jagannāth in the East, and Rāmnāth or Rāmeśvaram in the South. But we now have two popular Śāṅkarite institutions in the south—one in the Mysore region in the North-West portion of the Southern India and the other still further South in Kāñcī. The *pīṭha-śakti* of the former is Śāradā according to the *maṭhāmnāya* version of the Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, while that of the latter is Kāmākṣī, that is, Kāmakoṭi.[1]

Now the question arises as to the existence of two Śāṅkarite Institutions in South India, one in the North-West corner of South India and the other further South at Kāñcī. As regards the Śāṅkarite Institution in the North-west, a serious difficulty arises: In all the maṭhas in the Ceded districts and in Mysore bearing the names of Śriṅgeri like the Virūpākṣa-Śriṅgeri, the Puṣpagiri-Śriṅgeri, the Āvani-Śriṅgeri, the Śivagaṅgā-Śriṅgeri, and the Karavirmutt Śriṅgeri in the Maharashtra region[2], the

1. The aspect of Śāradā is quite different from Kāmākṣī. In the *Lalitā-sahasra-nāma,* the two names of Kāmākṣī (23) and Kāmakoṭikā (118) appear as synonymns of Lalitā. But Śāradā is referred to in the *Sahasranāma* as worshipping Lalitā equated with Kāmākṣī or Kāmakoṭi.

   In the *Lalita-triśatī,* Śāradā is described as waving *cāmara* for Lalitā.

2. It is more likely that Vidyāraṇya who was the head of the Śaṅkarite Institution on the banks of the river Tuṅgabhadrā would have shifted the headquarters

preamble to Śrīmukha include the epithet *Tuṅga-bhadrā-tīravasī*—one who dwells on the banks of the river *Tuṅga-bhadrā.*

But the institution - Śriṅgeri on the banks of the *Tuṅgā* also has the appellation *Tuṅgabhadrā-tīra-vāsī* which it cannot have. Our inquiry, hereafter, therefore, would centre around two vital questions, namely, (i) the existence of two maṭhas in the Southern region of India—one in the North-western portion and another still further South at Kāñcī; and (ii) the existence of two institutions bearing the name of Śriṅgeri in the North-Western portion itself - one on the banks of the riger *Tuṅgā* and the other on the confluence of *Tuṅgā* and *Bhadrā* and thus really on the *Tuṅga-bhadrā-tīra.*

Enquiries made from the people of Mysore revealed the existence of a tradition that Śrī Śāradā (Sarasavāṇī) after the defeat of Maṇḍanamiśra decided to ascend to Brahma-loka when Śrī Śaṅkara bound her by *Vanadurgā-mantra* and besought her to follow him till he installed her *śakti* in this *loka* itself for bestowing her grace on aspirants for know-ledge. She agreed to follow him on the condition that he

of that Institution to Śrīṅgeri on the banks of the river *Tuṅgā* and constructed temples for Vidyātīrtha and Śāradā there. Further, Vidyāraṇya would have invoked the blessings of Goddess Śāradā that She should manifest her *sānnidhya* at Śriṅgeri on the *Tuṅgaātīra* on the occasion of *Navarātri.* It is only thus that one could explain the tradition current in the Karnāṭaka region that the *sānnidhya* of Śāradā is manifested in the temple at Śriṅgeri on the *Tuṅgātīra* on the occasion of *Navarātri.* Vidyāraṇya left such a deep impress on the Śāṅkarite Institution at Śriṅgeri on the banks of the river *Tuṅgā* to which he had shifted the headquarters of the original Śaṅkarite Institution on the banks of the river *Tuṅgabhadrā* that later sub-divisions of the original Śāṅkarite Institution on the banks of the river *Tuṅgabhadrā* have the word Śriṅgeri affixed to their Institutions such as Avaṇi-Śriṅgeri, etc.

did not look back while she was following him. While they were crossing the confluence of the *Tuṅgā* and the *Bhadrā*, the sounds of Śrī Śārada's anklets were not heard by Śrī Śaṅkara as her feet were imbedded in the sands at the confluence of *Tuṅga-Bhadrā*. Not hearing the sound of anklets, Śrī Śaṅkara looked back. Śrī Śāradā then reminded him of his promise not to look back and said that she would not proceed any further but would stay at that place itself. Śrī Śaṅkara therefore installed Śrī Śāradā there itself consecrating Her in the temple, and arranged for an institution there with a line of succession for her worship. This accounts for the springing up of an additional but accidental Śāṅkarite institution in North-West portion of Karnāṭaka and for the inclusion of the epithet *Tuṅgabhadrā-tīravāsī* in the preambles to the Śrīmukha of that institution and all its *sub-divisions*. This tradition is also mentioned in some form or other by many authors in their works. It is current in Karnāṭaka country and is recorded by Sri B. Surya Narain Rao, M.R.A.S. in his brochure *The History of Sivaganga Mutt*. This tradition furnishes an explanation for a *maṭha* in the Karnataka-Maharashtra border for the *pūjā* of Śāradā-Devī deviating from the principle of establishing mutts at four corners or four dhāms. The institution on the banks of the *Tuṅgā* river should also be a sub- division of the Institution on the banks of the river *Tuṅgabhadrā*. The institution on the banks of the *Tuṅgabhadrā* consequent on its sub-divisons in different times led to many Śāṅkarite institutions with the epithet of *Tuṅgabhadrā-tīravāsī* and with Śāradā as the main deity worshipped.

Thus an accidental event led to the establishment of an institution on the banks of the river *Tuṅgabhadrā* with Śāradā as the *śakti*. All the *Maṭhāmnāya* texts except the text of the Vani Vilas Press already referred to enumerate only four śaktis, namely, Bhadrakālī, Pūrṇagiri, Vimalā, and Kāmākṣī. An institution for a region requires three main factors: a *śakti*, a *devatā*, and a *kṣetrā*. Pūrṇagiri as the *śakti*, Badrināth as the *devatā*, and Badari as the *kṣetra* constitute the institution of the northern region (*uttarāmnāya*); Vimalā as the *śakti*, Jagannātha as the *devatā*, and Purī as the *kṣetra* constitute the institution of the eastern region (*pūrvāmnāya*); Bhadrakālī as the *śakti*, Siddheśvara as the *devatā*, and Dvāraka as the *kṣetra* constitute the institution of the Western region (*paścimāmnāya*). We have earlier said that the *kṣetra* of the institution for the southern region is Rāmeśvaram and *śakti* is Goddess Kāmākṣī. This we know from all the *Maṭhāmnāya* texts excepting the text of Vani Vilas Press. All these texts refer to the *devatā* of the institution for the southern region as *Ādivarāha*, popularly known as *kaḷvar*. This figure we find in a niche of Śrī Kāmakṣī temple outside the southern wall of the *sanctum sanctorum*.[1] Śaṅkarācārya thus established the *maṭha* for the southern region by linking Rāmeśvaram situated in the extreme south with Kāñcī which is the *mokṣapurī*, and which is the seat of both *Kāmākṣī* and *Ādivarāha*—the *śakti* and the *devatā* of the institution for the southern region.

1. See *Tīrthāṅka*—Annual No. of Kalyan for the year 1957, p. 92.

Thus the banks of the river *Tuṅgabhadrā* also became a seat of an institution because of the accidental stay of Sarasavāṇī—the wife of Maṇḍanamiśra, there. This is how we can meet the problem confronting Mr Bodas according to the Marathi quotation already referred to. But it is yet a puzzle how Śriṅgeri got a place in the *Maṭhāmnāya* structure.

All the Śāṅkarite Institutions in the Mysore state and Ceded Districts have the epithet *tuṅgabhadrā-tīravāsī* and *Karṇāṭaka-siṁhāsana-pratiṣṭhāpanācārya* in the preamble to epistles being issued, that is, Śrīmukhas. The expression *Karṇāṭaka-siṁhāsana-pratiṣṭhāpanācārya* refers to Vidyāraṇya-the reputed founder of Vijayanagara Empire. In the seals of most of these institutions the name of Vidyāśaṅkara is also embossed. The epithets of the śrimukhams of all the institutions usually allude to the founders of the respective institutions. And a referen ˆ to Vidyāraṇya stabilizing the Virūpākṣa maṭha and the Śriṅgeri-maṭha on the banks of the river *Tuṅgabhadrā* in a hymn styled *Puṣpagirimaṭhāmnāya* which is quoted in the *Śāṅkaramaṭhatattvaprakāśikāsaṅgraha* published a century ago by the great Telugu Poet, Kokundrum Venkataratnam Pantulu gāru states that Vidyāraṇya came from Kāñcī to Humpi or Virūpākṣa and wrought many miracles. And after his life work in that region he returned to Kāñcī with great pomp and splendour.[1] Thus Kāñcī

....

1. ततः परं गजाद्रीन्दुरूपके शकवत्सरे।
विद्यारण्यगुरुः काञ्चीनगर्यां सम्बभौ महान् ॥
....

has been connected with the propagation of *dharma* through the Śāṅkarite Institutions in the Andhra and Karnataka regions.

One of the noteworthy features of the Śāṅkarite Institutions in the north and the west is that the *śaktisthāna* is far away from the *kṣetra* and the *Devatāsthāna*. The *kṣetra* and the *Devatāsthāna* are identical. It is thus: the *kṣetra* and *devatāṣthāna* of the Institution in the north is *Badarī*. The *sthāna* of *śakti*, Pūrṇagiri, is in the Nepal border nearly more than two hundred miles away from Badarī. In the same way, the *kṣetra* and the *devatāsthāna* of the Institution in the West is Dvārakā. The *sthāna* of *śakti*, Bhadrakālī, is in Ujjaini which is far away from Dvārakā. In the Southern region, however, the position is different. Kāñcī is the abode of *śakti* and *devatā* and so the *śaktisthāna* is identical with the *devatāsthāna*. But Rāmeśvaram the southern *āmnāyakṣetra* is neither the *devatāsthāna* nor the

पुण्यक्षेत्रे विरूपाक्षे मठमेकं मनोहरम्।
....
वैशाखकृष्णपक्षस्य तृतीयायां विधोर्दिने।
विसृज्य काञ्चीनगरं सहैश्वर्यं सवाहनम् ॥
विद्यारण्यगुरुःस्वामी कैलासालयं आविशत् ॥

. . . .

tataḥ paraṁ gajādrīndurūpake śakavatsare |
vidyāraṇyaguruḥ kāñcīnagaryāṁ sambabhau mahān ||

. . . .

puṇyakṣetre virūpākṣe maṭhamekaṁ manoharam |

. . . .

vaiśākhakṛṣṇapakṣasya tṛtīyāyāṁ vidhordine !
visṛjya kāñcīnagaraṁ sahaiśvaryaṁ savāhanam ||
vidyāraṇyaguruḥsvāmī kailāsālayaṁ āviśat ||

śaktisthāna. Kāñcī, the Southern *mokṣapurī*, is the place of both the southern *āmnāya-śakti*—Kāmākṣī, and the southern *āmnāya-devatā*—Ādivarāha. Although the institution for the southern region should be in Rāmeśvaram as it is the southern *dhām*, yet Kāñcī became the headquarters not only because it is the seat of the southern *āmnāyaśakti*—Kāmākṣī and the southern *āmnāyadevatā*—Ādivarāha but also because Śrī Śaṅkara was there in his last days. And this institution is based upon the *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha* at the ancient *Kāmakoṭṭam* whose praise had been sung by the three Nāyanmārs.

IV

Śrī Śaṅkara's life thus has been closely associated with Kāñcī; Kāñcī and its environs are replete with the reminiscences of Śaṅkara's life and mission. The temples of all denominations in Kāñcī abound in sculptures representing a *sannyāsin* with *eka-daṇḍa* many of which could easily be identified as those of Śrī Śaṅkara. [1]

To begin with: there is a life-size stone image of Śrī Śaṅkara installed in a shrine in close proximity to the *sanctum-sanctorum* of Śrī Kāmākṣī. The bronze *utsava-mūrti* of Śrī Śaṅkara which is in this shrine is taken every year on the *Vyāsa-pūjā* day to *Mukti-maṇḍapa* on the banks of the *Sarva-tīrtha*, and is offered worship there.

In the *maṇḍapa* with one hundred and eight pillars at Śrī Varadarājasvāmi temple there is a sculptured panel in

1. See Appendix for illustrations

which are depicted a *brāhmaṇa paṇḍita* with *śikhā* and *yajño-pavīta* in a defiant and arrogant mood, and a young *sannyāsin* with *ekadaṇḍa* in front of him, and radiating calmness. This panel illustrates the meeting between Vyāsa in disguise and Śaṅkara, at which the former challenged, in order to test, Śaṅkara's interpretation of the *Brahma-sūtra*. There is another sculpture in the same temple on a pillar in the *maṇḍapa* to the north of the shrine of the Tāyār (*Lakṣmī*) which shows an elderly sage, with *jaṭā*, *rudrākṣa*, and *yajñopavīta*, in a sitting posture, and with one finger of the right hand raised, and an *ekadaṇḍa-sannyāsin* standing nearby, offering obeisance. This sculpture evidently is the complement to the previous one; it represents Śaṅkara worshipping Vyāsa after the latter's identity had been disclosed.

It may be asked how a sculpture relating to *Advaita-siddhānta* came to be sculptured in a temple under the control of the followers of Rāmānuja. We may in this connection draw the attention of the readers to the following facts :—

According to the *Cidvilāsīya-Śaṅkara-Vijaya*, which treats about the life of Śrī Śaṅkara, it was Śrī Saṅkara who had the Varadarāja temple constructed through Rājasena, the then Ruler of Kāñcī. Since the temple was constructed under the direction of Śrī Śaṅkara it was but proper to sculpture some incidents in his life in the temple. Not only this: sculptures of an *ekadaṇḍi-advaiti-sannyāsin*, apparently Śrī Śaṅkara, are found in some of the temples, under the control of the followers of Rāmānuja, in and around Kāñcī. In the Varadarāja temple itself there are some more sculp-

tures of an *ekadaṇḍi-advaita-smārta-sannyāsin*, one in the four-pillared *Vasantamaṇḍapam* to the right of the *amṛta-saras*, representing a standing *sannyāsin* with a *daṇḍa* and *kamaṇḍalu* by his side, and the other outside the eastern wall of the second *prākāra* of the temple featuring an *ekadaṇḍa-sannyāsin* without *śikhā*.

There is another sculpture in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāl temple representing a *sannyāsin* without *śikhā*, with *ekadaṇḍa* and *kamaṇḍalu* and a *pustaka* by his side and with a *cāmara* on either side of his hand, standing on one foot and performing tapas, with his left hand on the top of his head.

There is a sculpture featuring an *ekadaṇḍa-advaiti-sannyāsin* without *śikhā* and *yajñopavīta* in the big Viṣṇu temple in Śevilimeḍu (Śivaliṅga-meḍu) at the southern outskirts of Kāñcī. There are similar sculptures in some of the Śiva temples also of the place, as for example the Puṇyakoṭīśvara temple, Kumarakoṣṭham, Kaccapeśvara temple, and many in Ekāmreśvara temple.

The sculptors in and around Kāñcī were so familiar with and so much devoted to Śrī Śaṅkara that they sculptured his figure in all the prominent temples in the city without regard to the deity to which they were dedicated or the sect to which the temple belonged in the later times. Not only this. It seems that Śrī Śaṅkara or his successors had something to do with the management of the Varadarāja temple. This could be seen from Vol. III (pages 340-341) of the *Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts* relating to Mackenzie's collection, where William Taylor gives a brief summary of a copper-plate inscription in Viṣṇu-Kāñcī in which the name

of Śaṅkarācārya appears among others as one who had something to do with the temple before the line of Tātācārya took charge. Śrī Śaṅkara and his successors having been connected with the temple, it was but natural that sculptural figures of him are seen in the temple.

There is an inscription in the Varadarāja temple relating to Mutt, called *Veda-maṭha*, situated in the temple, the head of which is named as *Vedendra-Sāgara* (No. 350, South Indian Temple Inscriptions—Vol. I, Madras Government Oriental Series, No. C. IV).[1] The appellation of *Sāgara* is one of the ten appellations used by *Daśanāmi-sānnyāsins* of the *Advaita-sampradāya*:

1. It may be added here that there are evidences which go to show the existence in Kāñcī of the Sannyāsins of two more orders of *tīrtha* and *bhāratī* apart from *sarasvatī* and *sāgara*.

In the walls of the Śiva temple at Ambil village, there is an inscription in Tamil wherein the *Ambil* village is referred to as *maḍappuram*, that is, offered to Sannyāsins. This inscription records the institution of an annual worship for the merits of Kṛṣṇa Devarāya by Candraśekhara Sarasvatī.

In another village (8 miles north to Kāñcī) Govindavāḍi a *Dakṣiṇāmūrti-kṣetra* there are two sculptures of *Advaita-ekadaṇḍa-sannyāsins*, one enshrined in the wall in the Dakṣiṇāmūrti-sannidhi and the other prostrating with *daṇḍa* towards Dakṣiṇāmūrti. There is an inscription referring to this sculpture as an *Advaita-sannyāsin* of the *tīrtha* order.

Of the many sculptures of *Advaita-sannyāsins* in the Kāmākṣī temple, one sculpture is referred to in the inscription under it as a *sannyāsin* of the *bhāratī* order. There is nothing strange in it. As pointed out earlier, in the *Guruparamparā* of the *bhāratī* order of sannyāsins, recorded in the *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India* it is said: Śaṅkara installed Kāmākṣī at Kāñcī and attained *siddhi* there; and on hearing about it Pṛthvīdharabhāratī-the preceptor of the institution of *Bhāratī* order on the banks of Tuṅgabhadrā reached Kāñcī. The *Guruparamparā* of the Kūḍali Maṭha also says the same thing with a very slight modification in phraseology. The disciples of Pṛthvidhara-Bhāratī might have stayed on at Kanci and thus we come to have a sculpture of a *sannyāsin* of the *bhāratī* order.

तीर्थाश्रमवनारण्यगिरिपर्वतसागराः ।
सरस्वती भारती च पुरी नामानि वै दशः ॥

tīrthaāśramavanāraṇyagiriparvatasāgarāḥ |
sarasvatī bhāratī ca purī nāmāni vai daśa ||

The sannyāsins of the *Rāmānuja-saṁpradaya* do not use any of these ten appellations. From this we can say that in the early centuries of the post-Rāmānuja period, there was no objection to an Advaita institution flourising in the precincts of a Viṣṇu temple.

There is a Viṣṇu temple in a village called Tirumukkūḍal on the banks of the Palar 13 miles to the east of Kāñcī. An inscription in this temple states that a college and a hospital were being maintained by the temple and that *Śivāgama* was one of the subjects taught in the college attached to that Viṣṇu temple.

These two inscriptions show that in the early centuries of the post-Rāmānuja period there was no bias against the propagation of Śaivite and Advaita tenets in Viṣṇu temples.

It is well known that the Śaṅkara Mutt in Viṣṇu Kāñcī is situated just a little to the West of the Varadarāja temple. This Mutt is referred to in a copper-plate inscription of the later Telugu Chola time in the following words:

सोऽय श्रीगण्डगोपालचोलक्ष्मापतिरात्मनः ।
पट्टाभिषेचनादूर्ध्वं वर्षे च सति षोडशे ॥

तपोधनाय मुनये शिवध्यानरतात्मने ।
स्वात्मारामाय विदुषे पोप्पिपल्लिप्रथितात्मने ॥

श्रीहस्तिशैलनाथस्य निलयात् पश्चिमे मठे ।

नित्यान्नदानविधिसन्तर्पितात्मद्विजन्मने ।
श्री शंकरार्यगुरवे वत्सरे खरसंज्ञिते ॥

* * * *

अम्बिकापुरनामानं ग्रामचिन्तामणीन् (णिं?) ददौ ।

so 'yam śrīgaṇḍagopālacolakṣmāpatirātmanaḥ
paṭṭābhiṣecanāt ūrdhvaṁ varṣe ca sati ṣoḍaśe
tapodhanāya munaye śivadhyānaratātmane
svātmārāmāya viduṣe poppilliprathitātmane
śrīhastiśailanāthasya nilayāt paścime maṭhe
nigamāntarahasyārtham śiṣyebhyastu vivṛṇvate
nityānnadānavidhisantarpitātmadvijanmane
śrī śaṅkarāryagurave vatsare kharasaṁjñite
... .
aṁbikāpuranāmānaṁ grāmacintāma(ṇīn) [ṇim] dadau

Some scholars may try to explain that the sitting figure in the Varadarāja temple on a pillar in the *maṇḍapa* to the north of the shrine of Tāyār represents a *sannyāsin* of the Rāmānuja-saṁpradāya by name Aḻagiya-Maṇavāla Jeer or Ramya-jāmātṛ-muni and the standing figure as of one Śaṅkara-Dāsa, a philonthropist who at the bidding of Aḻagiya-Maṇavāla Jeer, constructed a *maṇḍapa* in Kāñcī to install the goddess Marakatavalli. As authority for the same, they may rely upon an inscription in Sanskrit which states that a certain Śaṅkara-Dāsa built the *maṇḍapa* in front of the shrine of the Marakatavalli Nācchiyār at Kāñcī at the bidding of one Aḻagiya-Maṇavāla (No. 432, South Indian Temple Inscriptions, Madras Government Oriental Series No. CIV).

वेदान्तद्वयतत्त्वबोधमुदितैः श्रीरम्यजामातृभिः
आज्ञातेन च धर्मविग्रहवता सङ्कल्पिते मण्डपे ।

श्रीमच्छङ्करदासनामविलसद्भक्तेन काञ्चीपुरे
श्रीलक्ष्मीर्मरकतव(ल्ल्य)सौ त्रिजगतां माता चकास्ति स्वयम् ॥

vedāntādvayatattvabodhamuditaiḥ śrīramya jāmatṛbhiḥ
ājñātena ca dharmavigrahavatā saṅkalpite maṇḍape
śrīmacchaṅkaradāsanāmavilasadbhaktena kāñcīpure
śrīlakṣmīrmarakatavallyasau trijagatāṁ mātā cakāsti svayam

The sculpture earlier discussed (No. 1) is on a pillar on the *maṇḍapa* on the northern side of the Tāyār *sannidhi* of the Varadarāja temple and the Goddess there is called Mahādevī (Perundevī in Tamil). She is not called Marakatavalli-Nācchiyār. The inscriptions relating to Aḻagiya-Maṇavāla Jeer and Śaṅkara-Dāsa is in the Dīpa-Prakāśa temple, a mile to the West of Varadarāja temple and not in the Varadarāja temple itself. There is another inscription in the Dīpa-Prakāśa temple. This inscription states that Aḻagiya-Maṇavāla Jeer built prākāras and maṇḍapas in the temple of Dīpa-Prakāśa.

श्रीभाष्यामृतपुरपूरितमनाः पद्मोल्लसन् माधवः
श्रीकाञ्ची(वर)पुरभूषणैः यतिवरैः श्रीरम्यजामातृभिः ।
प्रा(क)कारैरपि मण्डपैर्विरचितैः दिव्यैः विमानैः कृते
तत्सङ्कल्पितमन्दिरे विजयते दीपप्रकाशो हरिः ॥

śrībhāṣyāmṛta purapūritamanāḥ padmollasan mādhavaḥ
śrikāñcī(va) (pu)rabhūṣaṇaiḥ yativaraiḥ śrīramyajāmatṛbhiḥ
prā(ka) (kā)rairapi maṇḍapairviracitaiḥ divyaiḥ vimānaiḥ kṛte
tat saṅkalpitamandire vijayate dīpaprakāśo hariḥ

According to this inscription, Aḻagiya-Maṇavāla Jeer was a *sannyāsin* belonging to the Rāmānuja sect. Sannyāsins of that persuasion alone use the appelation Jeers. The

sannyāsins of this persuasion do not discard their *śikhā* and *yajñopavīta*, carry *tridaṇḍa* and wear *tilaka*, that is, three vertical lines. The sitting figure in the sculpture in the Varadarāja temple can not be that of Aḻagiya Maṇavāla Jeer because that figure has matted hair (*jaṭā*), does not have *śikhā*, wears *rudrākṣamālā* and has neither *tilaka* nor *tridaṇḍa*. The sculpture in the standing posture should be that of an Advaita *sannyāsin*, apparently Śrī Śaṅkara. The figure clearly shows that he has no *śikhā*, has *ekadaṇḍa*, and does not wear *yajñopavīta*. He is doing *vandana*, represented by the *añjali* posture with *daṇḍa*. A *sannyāsin* does not worship one who wears *śikhā*, *yajñopavīta*, etc. Here in this sculpture we find a *sannyāsin* worshipping one who wears *yajñopavīta*, etc. The former must therefore be Śrī Saṅkara and the latter must be Vyāsācārya — the *parāmaguru* of Gauḍapāda according to the *guruparaṁparā* of Advaita-ācāryas.

नारायणं पद्मभुवं वसिष्ठं शक्तिं च तत्पुत्रपराशरं च
व्यासं शुकं गौडपदं महान्तं गोविन्दयोगीन्द्रमथास्य शिष्यम् ।
श्रीशङ्कराचार्यमथास्य पद्मपादं च हस्तामलकं च शिष्यं
तं तोटकं वार्तिककारमन्यानस्मद्गुरून् सन्ततमानतोऽस्मि ॥

nārāyaṇaṁ padmabhuvaṁ vasiṣṭhaṁ śaktiṁ ca tatputraparāśaram ca
vyāsaṁ śukaṁ gauḍapadam mahāntaṁ govindayogīndramathāsya śiṣyam
śrī śaṅkarācāryamathāsya padmapādaṁ ca hastāmalakaṁ ca śiṣyam
taṁ toṭakaṁ vārtikakāramanyān asmadgurūn santatamānato' smi

The third inscription in Telugu states that a chieftain (Miṭhādhāra) named Śaṅkara Dāśa renovated the maṇḍapam, etc, in the Dīpa-prakāśa temple.

स्वस्ति श्रीविजयाभ्युदय शालीवाहनशकाब्दा: १६५२ साधारणनामसंवत्सरमुलो श्रीदीपप्रकाशस्वामिसन्निधियंदु अम्मवारि सन्निधिमुंदु ई मण्टपं राजश्री शंकरदास मिटाजीवारि धर्मम् ।

दीपप्रकाश(क)जगत्प्रभुसन्निधौ श्री-
श्रीमन्दिरं विजयतामिह राजधान्याम् ।
धर्मार्थिना जगति शंकरदासनाम्ना
धीरेण लोकविलसद्यशसा निबद्धम् ॥

साधारणाब्दसमयकलौ श्रीमन्दिरं चिरं विरचितमत एव तस्मात् आसूर्यमाभरजनीकर......तद्धि गृहे वसतु शङ्करदासनाम्नः ।

svasti śrīvijayābhyudaya śālīvāhanaśakābdāḥ 1652 sādharaṇanāmasaṁvatsaramulo śrī dīpaprakāśasvāmi sannidhiyandu ammavāri sannidhimundu ī maṇṭapaṁ rājaśrī śaṅkaradāsa miṭhājīvāri dharmam

dīpaprakāśa(ka) jagatprabhusannidhau śrī
śrīmandiraṁ vijayatām iha rājadhānyām
dharmārthinā jagati śaṅkaradāsanāmnā
dhīreṇa lokavilasadyaśasā nibaddham

sādharaṇābdasamayakalau śrīmandiraṁ ciraṁ ata eva tasmāt āsūryamābharajanīkara.........taddhi gṛhe vasatu śaṅkarādāsanāmnaḥ.

So the one Śaṅkara-Dāsa referred to in the inscription in the Dīpa-prakāśa temple should be a king or chieftain and not a *sannyāsin.* Further, on the first pillar on the southern side of the outer *maṇḍapam* of the said Tāyār-*sannidhi*, there is a sculpture of one Śaṅkara-Dāsa with a label in Telugu script above, mentioning Rājā Śrī Śaṅkara-Dāsa. The diadem, the moustached countenance, the ornaments and the apparel of the figure show that it represents Śaṅkara-Dāsa, the Chieftain.

Considering all these facts together we may safely say that the standing figure in the Tāyār *sannidhi* is that of Śrī Śaṅkara and not that of Śaṅkara-Dāsa.

There is a temple at Kāñcī called Vyāsa-Śrāntāśraya. On the super-structure of the main shrine of this temple there are two stucco figures. One represents Vyāsa with his two arms raised, signifying Vyāsa saying with uplifted arms before Śrī Viśveśvara at Kāśi that there is no God higher than Keśava.

सत्यं सत्यं पुन: सत्यं उद्हृत्य भुजमुच्यते ।
वेदात् शास्त्रं परं नास्ति न दैवं केशवात् परम् ॥

satyaṁ satyaṁ punassatyaṁ uddhṛtya bhujāmucyate
vedāt śāstram paraṁ nāsti na daivam keśavāt pāram.

And the other represents Vyāsa sitting in the *dhyāna*-posture. According to the *Kāñcī-māhātmya*, Nandikeśvara cursed Vyāsa for saying so and as a result of the curse Vyāsa was unable to move his uplifted arms. He then proceeded to Kāñcī, installed a *Śivaliṅga* there in a spot called Vyāsa-Śrāntaśraya, that is, the place resorted to by the afflicted (*śrānta*) Vyāsa, and worshipped it.[1]

One of the stucco images of the Vyāsa-Śrāntāśraya temple mentioned above is similar to the sculpture in the Varadarājasvāmi temple. From this also we may infer that the sitting sculpture in the Varadarāja temple has been the model for other Vyāsa images. In the images occurring in both Varadarāja temple and the Vyāsa-Śrāntāśraya temple,

1. *Kāñcī-Māhātmya*, X.

there is a resemblance in the facial expression and the *jaṭā-baddha-kalāpa.* But the image of Vyāsa with uplifted arms on the super-structure represents Vyāsa in an afflicted mood, whereas the other image represents him in a happier mood, his affliction having been removed by his worshipping the *Śivaliṅga* at *Kāñcī-kṣetra.*

These sculptural forms of Śrī Śaṅkaara in the temples at Kāñcī are tangible and concrete evidence showing Śrī Śaṅkara's close connection with Kāñcī. Presumably to disapprove such connection of Śrī Śaṅkara with Kāñcī, it has been argued, that the sculptural forms of Śrī Śaṅkara found in the temples of Kāñcī are really those of Lakulīśa or *Lakṣādhyāyi* of the *Golaki Santānam.* These alternatives indicate the uncertainty behind the argument. The *daṇḍa* in the hands of the sculptural images in Kāñcī are an unmistakable evidence that the images are those of Advaita-sannyāsins. To meet this negative evidence, it is argued that Lakulīśas of Pāśupata-sect also have *daṇḍa* in their hands. *Lakuḍa* means *daṇḍa.* But as *lukuḍa* and *lakula* sound almost similar, it is argued that the Lakulīśa is one who has a *daṇḍa.*[1]

1. As regards the image of Śrī Śaṅkara in the precincts of the Kāmākṣī temple, it is asserted that it was originally an idol of Buddha and it had undergone rechistelling so as to make it appear as that of Śrī Śaṅkara.

Within the four rajavīthis in Big Kāñcī are situated the Kāmākṣī temple dedicated to Devī Kāmākṣī, Kāli Koil dedicated to Kālī, Mahākāleśvar temple by the side of Kāli temple and Airāvatiīśvarar temple dedicated to Śiva, the temple of Śaṅkupāṇi Pillayār dedicated to Vināyaka, Kumara-koṣṭah dedicated to Kumāra-Subrahmaṇya, and Ulahalandār temple dedicated to Lord Trivikrama Viṣṇu. A temple dedicated to Sūrya also existed nearby but now has become extinct.

But the *daṇḍa* in the hands of the Advaita-sannyāsins differs from that in the images of Lakulīśa thus : the former is of bamboo with knots (parvas) bearing the symbols of the conch (*śaṅkhamudrā*) and the axe (*paraśumudrā*) in cloth tied up with sacred threads (*daṇḍasūtras*). It is of the size of a thumb of the sannyāsins. The images of Lakulīśa have only a short staff and not the *daṇḍa* as described above.

A painted fresco enables us to have a clear idea of the type of staff that the Lakulīsas had. This fresco was in an underground room in a village, Allādurg in Telaṅgāna area, and was discovered recently by the Archaeological Department of the Govt., of Andhra Pradesh. Experts are of the view that this must be 1200 years old. Since it has been in an undeground room, it has been protected

In the same way, there might have been temples dedicated to Buddhist and Jaina faiths in and around the Kāmākṣī temple. In course of time, they might have been deserted on the decay of these faiths. The idols of Buddhist and Jaina pantheon are found scattered in that locality. In the Ekāmreśvara temple we find the images of Buddhist slabs in the walls of its outer *prākāra.* This does not mean that this temple was orignally dedicated to Buddha and later it was fashioned so as to appear as the temple of Lord Śiva.

The argument that the mūrtis of Buddha were rechistelled in the form of Śrī Śaṅkara is wrong on the ground that the main purpose of chistelling and installing a sculpture is to worship reverently, and reverential worship one cannot expect to have in respect of rechistelled figures. Such chistelling and remodelling cannot command reverence either from the Buddhists or from the Hindus. A new *mūrti* of Śrī Śaṅkara could easily have been sculptured instead of rechistelling Buddha's image into that of Śrī Śaṅkara.

Śrī Mahāmahopādhyāya Gopinath Kavirāj in his work *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti aur Sādhana observes as follows:*

अपने रहने केलिये आचार्य शङ्करने काञ्ची कामकोटिपीठ में ही स्थान बनाया था। प्रसिद्ध है कि काञ्ची में कामाक्षी देवी के मन्दिर में जहाँ पर आचार्य शङ्करजी की पाषाण-मयी मूर्ति है, उसी स्थान में उन्हें सिद्धि प्राप्त हुई थी।

from exposure to wind, rain and sunshine and so is very clear. This fresco has been carefully transplanted to the Hyderabad Museum. There is a figure in this fresco, with a black turban and a black cloth as shawl. It has a staff in its hand. This staff appears to be made of silver since it is white in colour. The stone figures of Lakulīśa — excavated by the Archeological Department have similar staff in the hands but their material could not be identified because they are of stone. This fresco gives a clue to the identification of the staff as made of silver.

In the Ekāmreśvara temple there is an image of a *sannyāsin* with a *daṇḍa*, with the sacred thread alone, the cloth after a dip in water being in the process of drying up. In no *kṣetra* other than Kāñcī can one find as many images of Advaita-sannyāsins.

In the Iravāttaneśvarar temple at Kāñcī which belongs to the Pallava period we find in a niche in the wall the image of Śrī Vyāsa by the side of Dakṣiṇāmūrti. To the left of that image is an *ekadaṇḍa sannyāsin*, a boy of sixteen with *daṇḍa* in his hand and with just a few sprouts of hair on the head and with no beard on his chin as he is young. This could easily be ident ified as the figure of Śrī Saṅkara in his teens seated near Vyāsa. This sculpture has been discovered by Sri C. Sivaramamurti, Director, National Museum, New Delhi.

In Śivāsthānam in the South Eastern border of *Viṣṇu-Kāñcī kṣetra*, the *sanctum sanctorum* which is a *gajapṛṣṭa-vimānam* has in its western wall a *somāskandamūrti* and an Advaita-*sannyāsin* doing *daṇḍa-vandana* on the *garuḍāsana* as is usual when sannyāsins make *daṇḍa-vandana*. In this temple the idol of Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the southern wall of *garbhagṛha* is most prominent. The beaming countenance of the *mūrti* is unique and is not found anywhere else.

In the *Mādhavīya-Śaṅkara - vijaya* it is said that Saṅkara reached Kāñcī and offered worship to Ekāmreśvara and then to Viśvanātha (who is on the banks of Sarvatīrtha). He then went to pay obeisance to Goddess Kāmākṣi who is in the form of *bilakāśa* as if she desires to know the heart of Lord Śiva.

tatra ekāmrādhiśvaraṁ viśvanāthaṁ natvā gamyam svīyabhāgyātiśityā
devīṁ dhāmāntargatamantakāre rhārdraṁ rudrasyeva jijñāsamānām

(14-60)

Bāṇa in his *Harṣa-caritra* refers to the Bhairavācārya, that is, Lakulīśa as wearing a black turban and a black shawl. This he explains on the basis of the *Āgama* texts of the Bhairavācāryas. Bāṇa says further that the Bhairavācāryas offer worship to win the favour of demons

तत्र एकाम्राधीश्वरं विश्वनाथं नत्वा गम्यं स्वीयभाग्यातिशीत्या ।
देवीं धामान्तर्गतमन्तकारेर्हार्द्रं रुद्रस्येव जिज्ञास्यमानाम् ।   [१४—६०]

Śri Śaṅkara then offered worship to Kallāleśa who is nearby: The verse which states this is as follows:

कल्लालेशं द्राक्ततो नातिदूरे लक्ष्मीकान्तं संवसन्तं पुराणम् ।
कारुण्यार्द्रस्वान्तमन्तादिशून्यं दृष्ट्वा देव सन्तुतोष एकभक्त्या ॥

kallāleśaṁ drāktato nātidūre lakṣmīkāntaṁ samvasantaṁ purāṇam
kāruṇyārdrasvāntamantādiśūnyaṁ dṛṣṭvā devam santutoṣa ekabhaktyā

The commentators construe the word *kallāleśa* with *lakṣmīkānta* and interprets it to mean Lord Varadarāja. But the word *kallāleśa* does not mean either etymologically or conventionally Lord Varadarāja. A careful study of *Śivajñānabodham*, *Tēvāram*, and *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam* shows that the word *kallāla* means a sturdy bunyan tree.

i. கல்லால் நிழல் மலை வில்லார் அருளிய பொல்லார்
இணை மலர் நல்லார் புனைவரே.

[சிவஞானபோதம் - மங்கள வாழ்த்து]

i. *Kallāl niḷal malai villār aruḷiya pollār iṇai malar nallār punaivare*

(*Śivajñānabodham*, *Maṅgalavāḻttu*).

ii. கல்லால் நிழல் மேயவனே

[தேவாரம், 437-3]

ii. *kallālniḻal mēyavanē*

(*Tēvāram*, 437-3)

கல்லாலின் புடையமர்ந்து நான்மறை ஆறங்கமுதற் கற்ற கேள்வி
வல்லார்கள் நால்வர்க்கும் வாக்கிறந்த பூரணமாய் மறைக்கப்
[பாலாய்
எல்லாமாய் அல்லதுமாய் இருந்ததனை இருந்தபடி இருந்து காட்டி
சொல்லாமற் சொன்னவரை நினையாமல் நினைந்து பவத்
[தொடக்கை வெல்வாம்

(*vetāla*).[1] The existence of a *vetāla* temple in Allah Durg, in proximity to the fresco could be taken as evidence that the image is that of Bhairavācārya.

In the light of the foregoing analysis, the argument that the images having a *daṇḍa*, with a symbol of the conch (*śaṅkha*) and the axe in the temples in Kāñcī could be those of Lakulīśas who have only a small silver staff in their hands, is unsound.

Hence we may conculde that because of the close association of Śrī Śaṅkara with Kāñcī, we have several sculptural images of him in and around Kāñcī.

The *paraṁparā* of Śrī Śaṅkara continues in line of succession in the great *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha* and this we know from several copper plate grants, stone epigraphs, and contemporary records. We shall deal with this point in some detail.

iii. *Kallālin puḍaiyamarndu nānmarai āraṅgamudaṛ kaṛṛa kēḷvi*
vallārhaḷ nālvarkkuṁ vākkiṛaṅda pūraṇamāy maṛaikkappālāy
yellāmāi alladumāi irundadanai irundapaḍi irundukāṭṭi
śollāmaṛ śonnavaṛai ninaiyāmal ninaindu bhavattoḍakkai velvām

(*Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam-Kaḍavul Vāḻttu*)

The word *kallāleśa* should therefore be taken to mean the Lord who is seated under the bunyan tree, that is, Lord Dakṣiṇāmūrti. Thus the verse must be taken to mean: 'Śrī Śaṅkara then had a *darśan* of *Kallāleśa* (that is, Dakṣiṇāmūrti at Śivāsthānam), and afterwards had a *darśan* of Lakṣmīkānta who is nearby to Śivāsthānam and was very much pleased.'

1. (i) *kṛṣṇoṣṇīṣam ..... kṛṣṇavāsasaṁ ...... mahābhairavaṁ bhairavācāryaṁ apaśyat*
Harṣacarita: (University of Kerala Sanskrit Series, No. 187),
Third Ucchvāsa, p. 163.

(ii) *bhagavataḥ mahakālahṛdayanāmnaḥ mahāmantrasya kṛṣṇaśṛgaṁbarānulepanena ākalpena kalpakathitena mahābhairavavṛatena mahāśmaśāne japakoṭyā kṛtapūrva sevo'smi. tasya ca vetālasādhanāvasanā kāryasiddhiḥ.*

ibid., p.159.

V

We have a wealth of details about *maṭha* and its history, preserved in the Moḍi records of the Madras Central Records office, the Sarasvati Mahal Library and the archives of the *maṭha* itself. Tradition has it that during the Carnatic wars on account of disturbed conditions, the *maṭha* was transferred from Kāñcīpuram to Tanjavur and then later from Tanjavur to Kumbhakonam. The Mackenzie Manuscripts throw light as regards the inscriptions relating to Śrī Kāmakoṭi maṭha.

The portion relating to Śrī Śaṅkarācārya of the Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha, Kumbhakonam, is found on page cclxxiii and ccxiv (263 & 264) of the second volume of Mackenzie's collection published by Wilson in 1828. It is extracted below:

Page CCLXIII: Report of Babu Rao, Maratta Translator to Col. Mackenzie, of his journey to Pondicherry, Karaical etc., along the coast for the purpose of collecting historical information, coins etc., from the 24th December, 1816 to 27th May I817.

April 8th and 9th, 1817: Proceeding by way of Nachargudi I arrived at Kumbhakonam, collecting some coins thereof from the shroffs. 10th: I visited the chief priest of Sankarachari, expending four rupees on fruit etc., to introduce myself, and requested him to give me a copy of the copper inscription he had in his Matham, but some of the Karyasthalu (or managers of the Matham) directly denied that there were any inscriptions on copper-plate, being afraid of losing their original documents which they

had saved through many years from destruction during different wars. I encouraged them much assuring them that I would take no original but only wanted a copy; they answered that if I assured them that only a copy was to be taken, and that I would give them a recommendation to my master regarding their discontinued Jagirs, and obtain their restoration of any of the discontinued villages, he would give them a particular account of the Cola, Chera and Pandian—together with that of the Rajas of Bijanagur as he was the Guru of all the Rajas. I accordingly gave them recommendatory letter. Then confiding in my assertions that I had only come to copy inscriptions, and collect historical information he was much pleased and promised to get me particular information of the Rajas that had ruled from the commencement of the Kali Yugam. He took me into his agraharam and showed me about 125 copper *sasanams* each contained in five or six copper plates, he gave a copy of two, presented me with a piece of cloth worth 5 rupees and gave me leave promising me to get me a particular account of the Chola Rajas together with several coins if I recommended him personally to my master at Madras, and got any assistance to recover their discontinued villages.

There is a record bearing No. 31/C Item 60 subsection 5 among the Moḍi records from the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjavur. There is a petition where a number of people had made a complaint to the then king of Tanjavur about the alleged misdeeds of some *Kāryastha* of the *Maṭha*. This interesting document belongs to the time of Śrī Mahādevendra Sarasvatī who ascended the *Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha* in the

year 1851 during the time of the last king Sivaji of Tanjavur; and in this the petitioners in their introductory paragraphs give a brief but interesting account of the *Maṭha*. It is stated in the petition as follows:

> "The Mutt of Śrī Śaṅkārācārya Svāmy at Kumbhakonam was a small Mutt[1] when it was at Kāñcīpuram. Raja Pratap Singh brought the Śaṅkarācārya from Kāñcī and built a Mutt at Dabir Agraharam, granted Mohinilands, offered him his first honour and respect, etc., etc.

This clearly shows that the *maṭha* was shifted from Kāñcīpuram to Tanjavur during the reign of Raja Pratap Simha of Tanjavur. We have fortunately enough of original documentary evidence of the Tanjavur Maratha rulers themselves to substantiate the above.[2]

The question as to why the Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Maṭha shifted its headquarters from Kāñcīpuram to Kumbhakonam arises for consideration. That the *maṭha* was established by Ādi Śaṅkara at Kāñcīpuram, and that it has been continuing in an unbroken line of great ācāryas is clear from the other evidence already shown here. As to why and when the *maṭha* shifted its headquarters to Kumbhakonam, we have clear evidence in another important public record. This is about a court case belonging to the time of the 64th *ācārya* of the *maṭha*. In the year 1844

1. In the report of Babu Rao to Col. C. Mackenzie reference is made to the Mutt's discontinued Jagirs and the request to their restoration. Probably it was in this stage that the institution is described as a *small mutt*.

2. See *Preceptors of Advaita*, p. 435.

A.D., the authorities of Śriṅgeri Maṭha filed a civil suit in the Trichy District Sadar Amin Court claiming that the right for the *tāṭaṅka pratiṣṭhā* of Goddess Akhilāṇḍeśvarī belonged only to that *maṭha*. Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Maṭha was made the first defendant in the above civil suit. The plaint of the plaintiff, the answer of the first defendant, the reply of the plaintiff for this, the defendant's rejoinder (the evidence presented by both sides) and the judgement, are all now available to us in print. Ultimately the court decided that the documents submitted on behalf of the Śriṅgeri Maṭha were not reliable, and that the oral evidnce adduced on their behalf was self-contradictory, and the suit was dismissed with costs. This suit bears the number O.S. 95/1844. This was taken in appeal No. 109/1846 and in special appeal petition No. 106/1848 to higher courts and in both the appeals the Śriṅgeri Maṭha's claims were disallowed with costs to this defendant. This one record is more than enough to give us a graphic insight into the affairs of Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Maṭha about 120 years ago. This record contains an important point of reference. In the rejoinder of the Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Maṭha, para 20, the reasons for the shift of the *maṭha* from Kāñcīpuram to Kumbhakonam are clearly given. The following is a free translation of the relevant passage:

"The plaintiff in column 20 of his reply states that if it is true that the *Kāmakoṭi-Pīṭha* was established at Kāñcīpuram by Śaṅkara and if Śaṅkara's disciple was installed there, the first defendant should still be residing there only and the reason for his residence at Kumbhakonam has not been stated in the defendant's answer. It is not stated in any authoritative text that the *Kāmakoṭi-Pīṭhādhipati* must necessarily live only at Kāñcīpuram and should not take up his residence in any other place. The first defendant's disciples and other staff of the *maṭha* are still living in the Kāñcīpuram Maṭha and are still carrying on the daily *pūjā* to the *Sarvajña-Pīṭha* there. The first defendant's *parama-Guru* (that is Guru's Guru) wanted to reside on the banks of the river Cauvery and hence came to reside in Kumbhakonam. He brought along with him the *Yogaliṅga-Candramaulīśvara-Svāmi*, consecrated by Sureśvarācārya. The local Rajahs and other discples afforded every facility and convenience to him and hence he used to alternate his residence between Kumbhakonam and Kanchipuram etc., etc."

The above clearly gives the reason why Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Maṭha was shifted to Kumbhakonam. This record belongs to the time of the 64th *ācārya*, Śrī Candraśekharendra Sarasvatī V. He was the head of the *pīṭha* from 1814 to 1851 A.D. His *Parama-Guru* was the 62nd Acharya, Śrī Candraśekharendra Saravatī IV who adorned the *pīṭha* from 1746 to 1783 A.D. It was this *ācārya*, who sifted his head quarters from Kāñcīpuram to Kumbhakonam in order to carry out his meditation and worship on the peaceful banks of the river Cauvery. He attained *siddhi* in 1783 A.D. in Kumbhakonam itself. The traditional accounts of the shifting of the *maṭha* from Kāñcīpuram to Kumbhakonom assign it to the period of King Pratap Simha, one of the Tanjavur Maratha Rulers who

was a great devotee of the *ācārya.* This has been clearly corroborated by the Moḍi Document of 1750 A.D. mentioned above. This king ruled between 1740 and 1768 A.D. This traditional account of the shift of the *Maṭha* is fully borne out by the statement made in the court documents mentioned above. It is thus elear that in the latter half of the 18th century, the *Maṭha* was shifted from Kāñcīpuram to Kumbhakonam.[1]

There is another record, a grant of 1783 A.D. which was made by the Raja of Sivaganga on September 10, in which the village Pulavacheri was granted to the *maṭha.* This grant purports to give the village Pulavacheri in Śālīvāhana Śakābdha, 1705, Kalyabda 4884, cyclic year Śobhana, Āvaṇi Māsa, 28th *tithi*, Śuklapakṣa, Bhānu-Vāsara and Paurnimāvāsya day, to *Śrī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha Singhāsanābhiṣikta Śrī Mahā Bhagavatpadācārya Svāmi Maṭha* situated in *Śrī Kāñcīpuram Divyakṣetra* for Svami Pūjā, Dīpārādhanā, Brahmin feeding, etc., etc. We know from other evidence that the 63rd *ācārya* came to the Pīṭha on 20th January 1783 A. D., and on 10th September of the same year, the Pulavacheri record clearly establishes that the *pīṭha* was situated in *Kāñcīpuram.* We have already seen that the *maṭha* had been shifted from Kāñcīpuram to

1. *vide*: The celebrated Dabir Pandit, an expert in Revenue matters was another of the great men in his court. He continued to serve the son of Pratap except for a short period and did much good to that state. He and Pratap welcomed to Kumbhakonam the Sankaracarya of the Kamakoti Pitha from Udayarpalayam whither the latter had shifted from Kanci on account of the increasing Muhammaden trouble in the City." *The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore,* Chapt. vii, p. 48.

Kumbhakonam only a few years ago and hence it can be safely deduced that the 63rd *ācārya,* Mahādevendra Sarasvatī IV must have come to Kāñcīpuram immediately after ascending the *pīṭha* probably on a tour. This also fully bears out the statement mentioned in the court document that the *ācāryas* used to live alternatively in Kāñcīpuram and Kumbhakonam and that the worship at the *maṭha* at *Kāñcīpuram* was being continued by the disciples, since only a few years after the shift of the *maṭha,* the grant clearly mentions that the *maṭha* was situated in *Kāñcīpuram.*

Though the *maṭha* was thus shifted to Kumbhakonam in the latter half of the 18th century, still in all the records of the *maṭha* the *ācāryas* were still being mentioned only as *Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭhādhipatis.* For example:

1. A Firman of the Nawab of Arcot of 1792 A.D. mentions that *Śrī Kāmakoṭi Śaṅkarācārya* should be given all facilities while going to Tirupati, river Krishna, etc.

2. There is a stone epigraph in *grantha* of the 63rd *ācārya,* Śrī Mahādevendra Sarasvatī in the Ādi Kumbheśvara Svāmi temple in Kumbhakonam. Here also, the *ācārya* is referred to as:

śrī ācāryasvāmibhiḥ nirmita kāñcīpīṭhābhiṣi(kta)
śrī mahādevendrayati ubhayam.

श्री आचार्यस्वामिभिः निर्मितकाञ्चीपीठाभिषि[क्त] श्री महादेवेन्द्रयति उभयम् ।

3. Another stone epigraph of the same *ācārya* is found in that temple itself which is as follows:

" *Śālīvāhana Śakābdam 1722, Dunmati varṣam, Kumbheśvarasvāmi Somāskanda-mūrtikku ardhamanṭapam, mahāmanṭapam mudunnu Śrī Kāñcī*

Kāmakoṭipīṭhādhipati Chandramoulīśvara dāsabhūta Śri Mahādevayati dharmam."

शालीवाहन शकाब्दम् १७२२, दुन्मतिवर्षं, कुम्भेश्वरस्वामि सोमास्कन्दमूर्तिक्कु अर्धमण्टपम् , महामण्टपम् मुदुन्नु श्री काञ्चीकामकोटिपीठाधिपति चन्द्रमौलीश्वरदासभूत श्रीमहादेवयति धर्मम् ।

4. Towards the close of the 18th century Āvaṇi Śṛṅgeri mutt had sent a Śrīmukham to the then *ācārya* of the *Kāmakoṭi-Pīṭha.* The Āvaṇi Śṛṅgeri Mutt is one of the sub-divisions over specified areas of the Karnataka region; the others being Śṛṅgeri on the Tuṅgā, Virūpākṣa-Śringeri, Śivagaṅgā-Śṛṅgeri and Karavīr-Śriṅgeri. The Āvaṇi Śṛṅgeri has jurisdiction in the eastern portion of Mysore. The Mutt began to tour the Tiruchirapalli district on the banks of the Akhaṇḍa Kāverī and when it was brought to its notice that it had encroached upon the traditional rights of the *Kāmakoṭi-Pīṭham* in the locality, that mutt forwarded a *Śrīmukham* to the *Kāmakoṭipīṭham* making amends and informing the routes they would take without violating the *status quo* in the locality. The route includes, Pudukotta, Madurai, Rameswaram, Ramnad, Sivaganga, Tirunelveli and Travancore. The Ācārya of the *Kāmakoṭi-Pīṭha* is referred to in this letter as:

Śrīmad Śaṅkara bhagavatpādācāryāṇām adhiṣṭhāne
Siṁhāsanābhiṣiktānām Śrī Kāmakoṭi Pīthādhipati
Śrī Mahādevendra Sarasvatī

श्रीमद् शङ्करभगवत्पादाचार्याणां अधिष्ठाने सिंहासनाभिषिक्तानां श्रीकामकोटिपीठाधिपति श्रीमहादेवेन्द्रसरस्वती ।

5. In 1840 A.D. the 64th Ācārya, Śrī Candraśekharendra Sarasvatī performed the Kumbhābhiṣeka of Śrī

Kāñcī Kāmākṣī temple. There is a stone epigraph in the temple which mentions this in Telugu characters as follows:

"*svasti Śri vijayābhyudaya śālīvāhana śakābda 1761 vikāri nāma saṁvatsara. Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭhādhipatulaina, Śrī Candraśekhara Svāmulavaru, Kumbhākoṇamununci Kāñcikivacci., etc.,*".

स्वस्ति श्रीविजयाभ्युदय शालीवाहनशकाब्द १७६१ विकारिनाम संवत्सर श्रीकाञ्चीकामकोटिपीठाधिपतुलैन श्रीचन्द्रशेखरस्वामुलवारु कुम्भकोणमुनुञ्चि काञ्चिकि वच्चि ।

6. There is another interesting letter of 1858 A.D. written by the Garrison officer of Kumbhakonam to the Agent of the Maṭha in which the officer Commanding had informed the Manager that some sepoys who had misbehaved did so due to ignorance and that he had issued suitable instructions to them. The addressee of this letter is given as follows:

"Soobhier the Agent of Sree Sankarachariar the priest of Sree Conjee Commacote Peetam at cusbah of Combaconum."

7. A reference to the Inam lands and Inam titles of the *maṭha* also shows that from ancient times onwards several lands in several villages round about Kāñcīpuram like Mādhavaram, Aṁbi, Śivakāñcī, Śevilimeḍu and Kuṇḍiyāntaṇḍalam have been in the occupation and enjoyment of the *maṭha.* In several of them the original title of the grantee is written as "*Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭham*" or "*Kumbhakonam Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭham*", etc. This also clearly shows that the traditional title of *Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha* was continued undisturbed even though due to various reasons the *maṭha* was transferred from Kāñcīpuram to Kumbhakonam.

8. The Āstikas of Madras who had an organisation or *Sabhā* for determining *dhārmic* questions and correct lapses, if any, in the community, were in the habit of assembling periodically in the premises of the Madras branch of the *Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha* at 119, Thambu Chetty St., G. T., Madras, which was dedicated to Śaṅkarācārya svāmi for the grace of Candramaulīśvara by one Vajrala Thyagarayadu in the year 1742. The Āstikas were represented by eighteen Jālādhipatis, who were the accredited heads of the different communities. The meetings were presided by an elected *Sabhāpati* at the time. The Śriṅgeri Acārya in the year *Śukla* in the last century (1870) issued a Śrīmukham to the then *Sabhāpati* of the Madras Mahājanas, Śrīmān Paṇḍipeḍḍi Krishnasvāmi Ayyā in which the Ācārya makes it clear that he has no intention to act against the *Kāmakoṭi-Pītha.*

9. In the present century the learned royal families of Cochin, Benaras and Pudukkottah refer to the institution as *Kāmakoṭi Pīṭhādhiṣṭhāna of Jagadguru.*

10. In the *Śubhalekha* (invitation) sent to this Mutt on the occasion of the coronation of the late Mahārāja of Mysore, Śrī Jaya Chāmarājendra Wodayar, this Mutt is referred to as *Śrī Jagadguru Kāñcī Śrīmat Śaṅkara Bhagavatpādācāryāṇām adhiṣṭhāne simhāsanābhiṣiktānām.*

11. The authorities of the Śriṅgeri Mutt in a letter dated 14-10-1942 to Śrī Viśuddhānanda Bhāratī who was residing in Kāñcī in the building belonging to Śṛṅgeri *maṭha* have informed that Kāñcī is the seat of the Great

Kāmakoṭi-Pīṭha and the building of the Śriṅgeri *maṭha* there was not to be given the status of a *maṭha.*

VI

It would be clear from the foregoing that the Ācarya of the *Kāñcīpīṭha* has been referred to as *Kāñcī-Kāmakoṭi-pīṭhādhipati* even after the *maṭha* was shifted from Kāñcī to Kumbakonam in the latter half of the 18th century.

The author of a recent book *Devi Kāmākṣī in Kāñcī,* however, has said that 'the Saṅkaracārya of Kumbakonam has assumed the style of *Kāñcī-Kāmakotī - pīthādhipati* in the year 1960.'[1]

The same author in *A Manual of Pudukoṭṭai State* edited by him has said:

" The Hindu sects do not attempt to proselytise, nor is there any great organisation in the state to conserve the religious faith of the people. The followers of the Advaita school offer homage to the gurus of Kumbakonam (the *Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha*) and of Śriṅgeri founded by the great Śrī Śaṅkara. The *guru* of the Kumbakonam *Pīṭha* has a large following within the state, and since he is the guru of the ruling family, honours are accorded to him during his visits to the state." (*Chapter III, p. 84*).

In his article on *A Copper-plate of the Kāmakoṭipīṭha* in the *Journal of Indian History,* Vol. XXIX for August 1951, the same author observes as follows:

1. *Devī Kāmākṣī in Kāñcī*, p. 58.

" The record is important as showing the very close connection that existed between the gurus of the *Kāmakoṭi Pīṭham* and the Pudukkoṭṭai Ruling House in the 18th century. About 1738, Vijaya Ragunātha Rāya had received spiritual instruction from Śrī Sadāśiva, the most illustrious disciples of the *maṭha* and this had brought him into the direct line of disciples of the Śaṅkarācāryas of this *maṭha*. The devotion that the ruler had for the venerable Svāmi of the *maṭha* was emulated by his followers and retainers who made this grant in 1742 to an agent of the *maṭha*.

In the proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol. XXII, the above author refers to two firmans issued by the Nawab of Arcot and the East India Company one of which has the names of *Kāmakoṭi* and Śaṅkārācārya. The firmans are as follows :

Sri Sambamurti Sastri, a prominent disciple of the present Svami of the *Kāmakoṭipīṭha*, has sent me for examination four unpublished Persian inscriptions which I notice here very briefly.

The first which bears the seal of Saadat Khan is a grant confirming a previous one by Dawud Khan to 'Sankarācārya Gossain' of the village of Ponnambalam (Ponnai) in the 'Karnatak taluk of Hyderabad" measuring 250 *chakras* of dry land free of taxes. This document is dated 6 *zilhijja* in the 6th year (of the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Shah), 5 August 1725 A.D.

The second which bears the seal of Safdar Ali, 'Servant' of Muhammad Shah Padshah Ghazi again confirms the

same grant with effect from *fasli* 1151 (1741-42). This is dated 1 *Rajjab* in the 24th year of Muhammad Shah's reign, 22 August, 1742 A.D.

Dawud Khan, a *mansabdar* of the imperial court, held the post of *naib* of the *nizamat* of the Carnatic Payanghat between 1700 and 1708 A.D. Saadat Khan, his successor, was confirmed in the *nizamat* in 1723 by Asafjah Nizam-ul-mulk. According to the massirul-umara, he held the *nawabship* until 1732. (Burhan: *Tuzaki Walajahi*, Nainar's translation, Madras University, Part I, p. 64 n. ff). Nawab Safdar Ali did not enjoy the *nizamat* for long, and was murdered on *Shaban*, 1155 A.H. (October 1742). Dawud Khan's gift of a tax-free village to enable the Svami " to maintain himself and to pray to God in peace" was confirmed by two successors of the *nizamat* of the Subah of Arcot.

The third and the fourth record an order to all jagirdars, amaldars, mustajirs, chowkidars, poligars, foujdars, rahdars, etc., to afford safe passage to the " great guru Śaṅkarācārya Svāmi Mahant" of *Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha* and his retinue, and desist from collecting tools or customs during his travels between the banks of the Krishna and Tinnevelly while making pilgrimages to Tirupati, Ramesvaram, etc. One of them bears the seal of the commissioner of Customs, East India Company, and is dated 18 April 1792 (25 *Shaban*, 1206 A.H.), while the seal in the other [This record has Telugu and Marathi (Modi) translations] reads Padshah Ghazi Shah Alam, Muzaffarul Mulk, Amirud Dawlah, Azadud Dawlah, Salarul Mulk, etc., and is

dated 23 Nov., 1792 A.D. (8 *Rabi-us-sani* 1207 A.H.). These two documents reflect the political condition of the Carnatic in 1792 A.D. To ensure success in their war with Tippu, the Company had concluded in that year a treaty with the Nawab Muhammad Ali Walajah, and had assumed entire control of the Carnatic. Though the Nawab was virtually under the protection of the Company (cf: Madras Military Consultations—22nd August 1781—Nawab Walajah is to request to the Governor General), the fiction of the legal sovereignty of Delhi continued. (The name of the Moghal Emperor continued to be recited in the Friday prayers at Arcot and Madras almost until the dissolution of the Carnatic Kingdom). This explains why the *svāmi* got *firmans* from both the Company and the representative of the titular emperor.

One feature stands out prominently in these records—the spirit of religious toleration and respect for a highly venerated spiritual head of a large sect of Hindus which animated the ruler of the Carnatic from the time of the early *naibnazims*, whether Afghan or Persian by descent, down to the time of the annexation of the Kingdom by the Company. (See the writer's paper—*The Religious Policy of the Walajahi Nawabs of the Carnatic,* read at the All India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad session—to be published shortly in the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.) These rulers, who professed to be the vassals of the *Padshah Ghazi,* the imperial defender of Islam, afforded ample protection to Hindus and fostered their religious Institutions. (Indian Historical Records Commission), Vol. XXII.

It will thus be seen from the above that the ācaryas of the *Kāmakoṭī-pīṭha* have been referred to as Kāmakoṭi-pīṭhādhipatis even in the latter half of the 18th Century.

CONCLUSION

At Kāñci Goddess Kāmākṣī presides over the *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha* in *Kāmakoṣṭham* whose praise has been sung by the three great Nāyanmārs.

Śrī Śaṅkara established an Institution for the southern region based upon the *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha* at Kāñcī, consecrated the *Yoga-liṅga*[1] and spent his last days there. It is heartening to see that Śrī Śaṅkara has been followed by a line of Advaitic Preceptors in that great Institution. May goddess Kāmākṣī, the *śakti* of the *Kāmakoti-pīṭha,* protect us all—Her children.

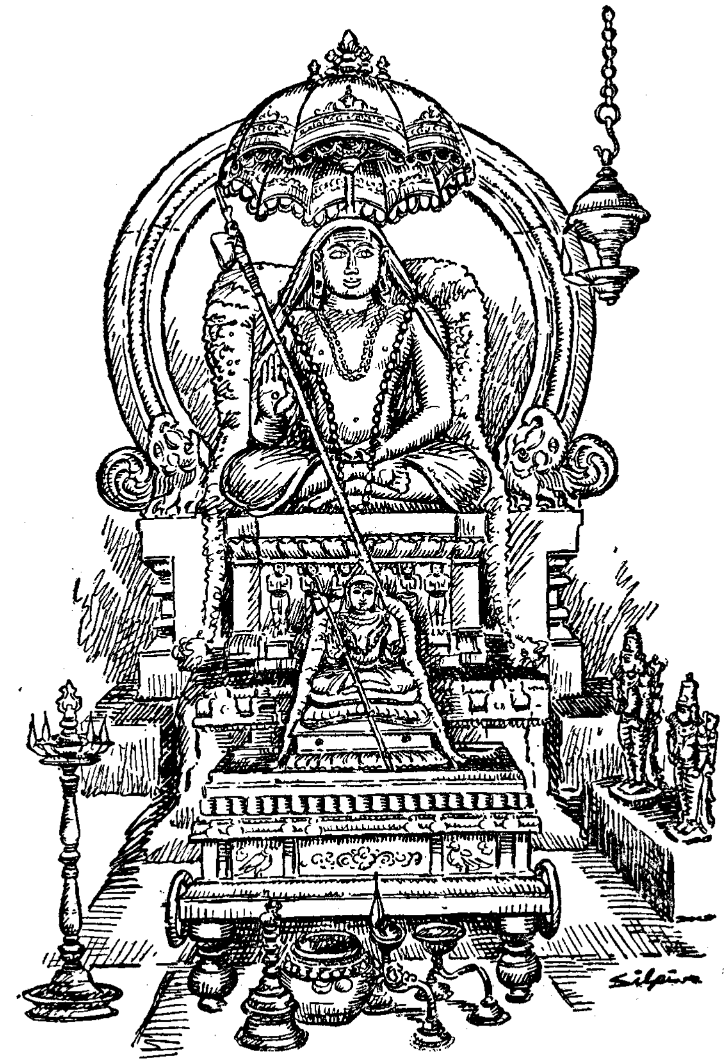
1. The *Naiṣadha-kāvya* refers to the *Yoga-liṅga* at Kāñci in the following verse:

   सिन्धौर्जैत्रमयं पवित्रमसृजत तत्कीर्तिपूतादभुतं
   यत्र स्नान्ति जगन्ति सन्ति कवय: के वा न वाचं यमा: ।
   यद्बिन्दुश्रियमिन्दुरश्चति जलं चाविश्य दृश्येतरो
   यस्यासौ जलदेवता स्फटिकभू: जगार्ति योगेश्वर: ॥ (१२-३८)

   Some, however, read यागेश्वर instead of योगेश्वर. Śri Baldev Upādhyāya in his work *Śrī Śaṅkarācārya* refers to this and affirms that the reading योगेश्वर is a corrrct one.

काञ्ची के लिंग के नाम के विषय में कहीं यागेश्वर और कहीं योगेश्वर पाठ मिलता है। परन्तु पूर्वापर का अच्छी तरह समन्वय कर योगेश्वर पाठ ही ठीक प्रतीत होता है। नैषध में (१२-३८) काञ्ची स्थित जिस स्फटिकलिंग का वर्णन है, वह शङ्कर द्वारा स्थापित योगेश्वर लिङ्ग ही है।

(श्रीशङ्कराचार्य—by श्री बलदेव उपाध्याय, प्रकाशक-हिन्दुस्तानी एकेडेमी, इलाहाबाद) १९६३, पृ. १४४.



A stone image of Śrī Śaṅkara at the temple of Goddess Kāmākṣī

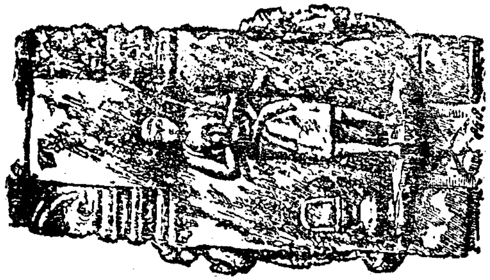
(See p. 52)



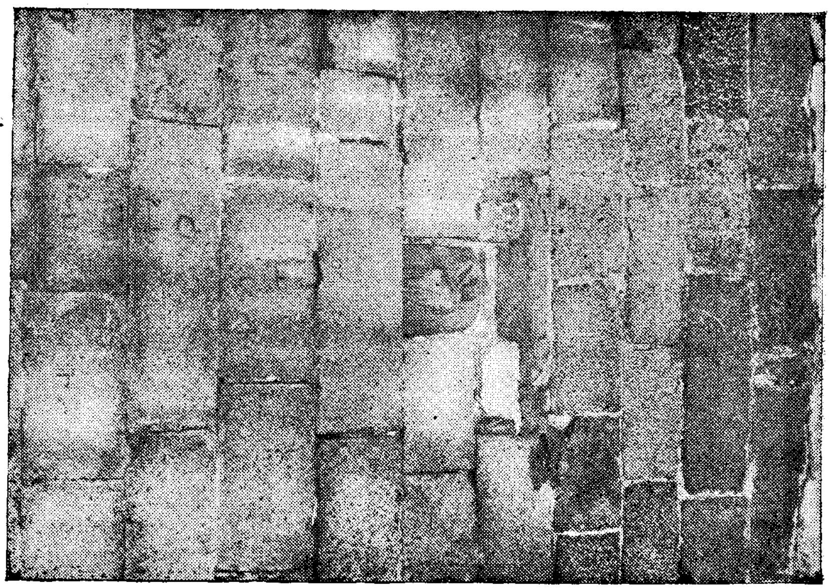
A Sculptured panel in the Varadarāja svāmī temple depicting Śrī Vyāsa in a defiant mood and Śrī Śaṅkara with radiating calmness (See pp. 52-53)



A Sculptural image of rī Vyāsa and Śrī Śaṅkara in the Varadarājasvāmi temple (See p. 53)



A sculpture of Śrī Śaṅkara in the Vasanta-maṇṭapa of Śrī Varadarāja temple, Kāñcī (See p. 54)



A sculptural image of Śrī Śaṅkara on the outside of the eastern wall of the second *prākāra* of Śrī Varadarājasvāmi temple (See p. 54)



A sculpture featuring Śrī Śāṅkara in the Viṣṇu temple at Śevīlimeḍu at the outskirts of Kāñci (See p. 54)



A sculpture of Śrī Śaṅkara in Puṇyakotīśvara temple (See p. 54)



A sculptural image of Śrī Śaṅkara in the Ekāmreśvara temple



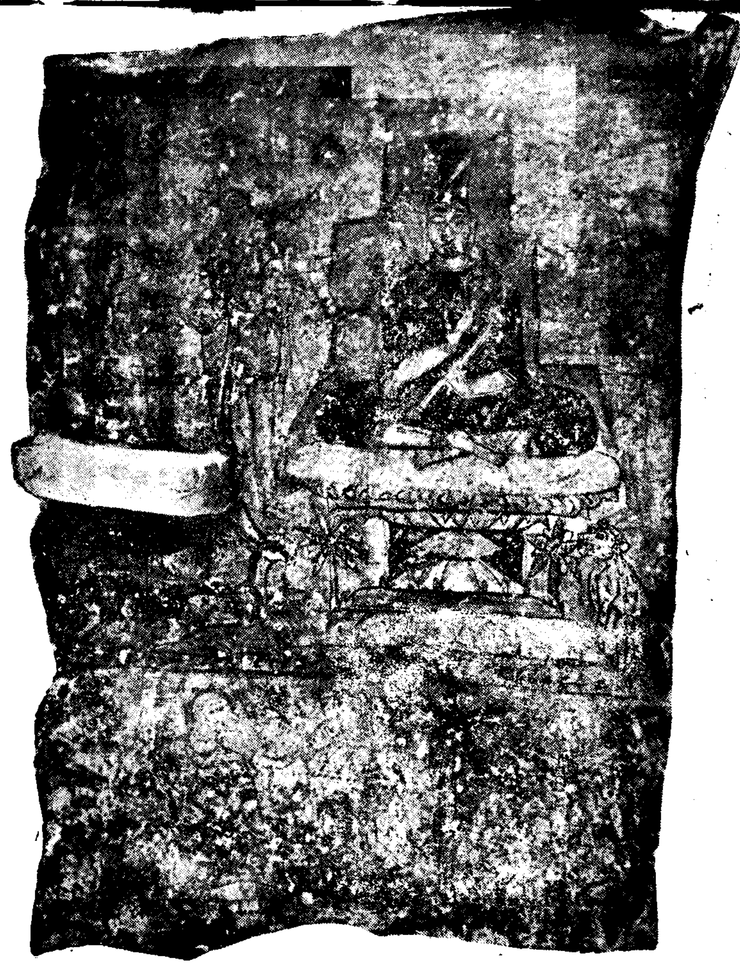
A sculptural image of Śrī Śaṅkara in the Vaikuṇṭha perumal temple, Kāñcī. (See p. 54)



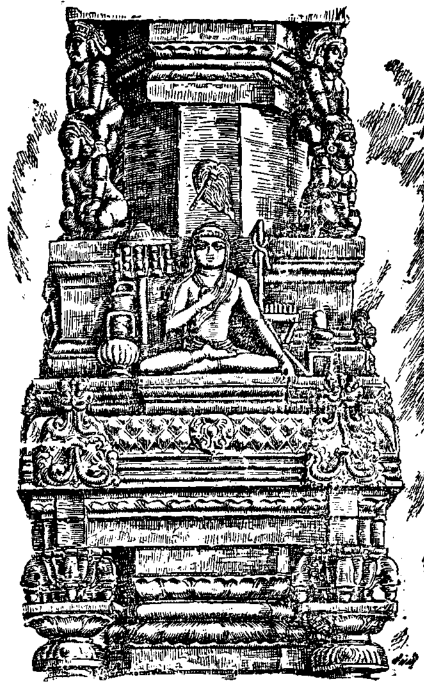
A sculpture of Śaṅkaradāsa in the Dīpaprakāśa temple, Kāñcī (See p. 60)



Stucco figures representing Śrī Vyāsa in the Vyāsaśāntāśraya temple. (See p. 61.)



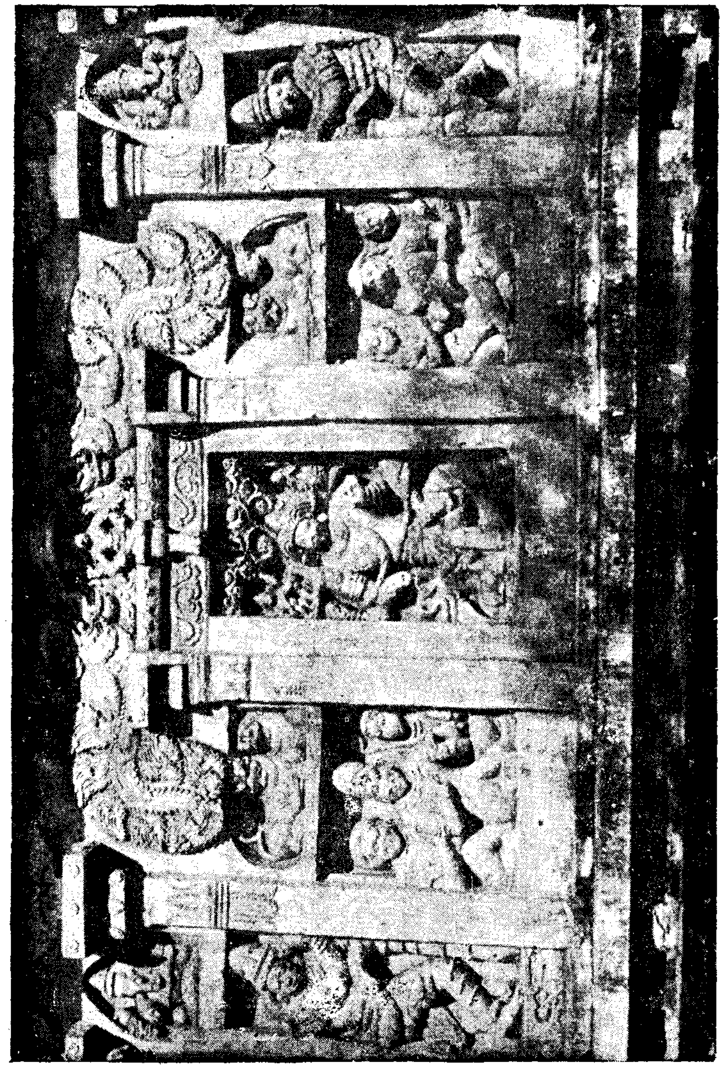
A figure of Bhairavācārya in a painted fresco discovered by the Archaeological Department of the Government of Andhra Pradesh (See p. 63.)



A sculpture of Śri Śaṅkara in the Ekāmreśvara temple (See p. 64)



A sculptural image of Śrī Śaṅkara in *Daṇḍavandana* pose in the *sanctum sanctorum* of the Sivāsthānam temple at the outskirts of Kāñci (Sэe p. 64)



A sculpture of Śri Śaṅkara in Iravattaneśvara temple:

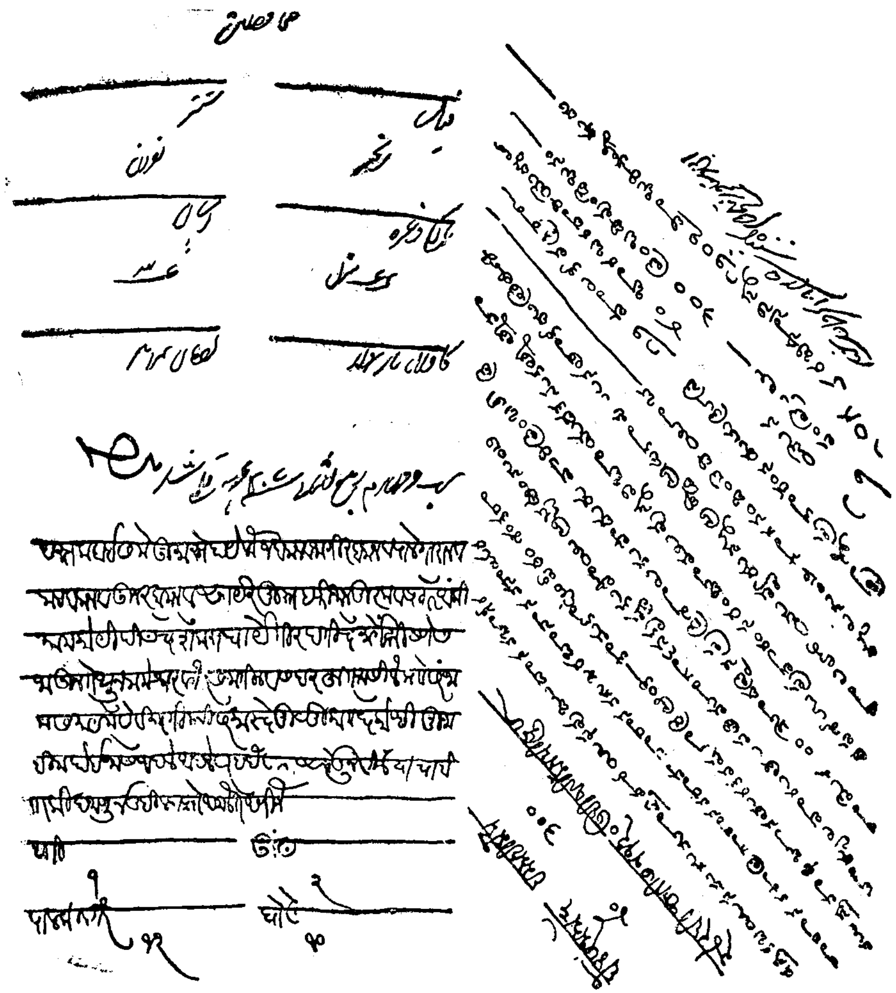
The central panel shows Dakṣiṇāmūrti and on either side there are two great ṛṣis—Vyāsa and Jaimini. To the left of Vyāsa is Śaṅkara as a boy of sixteen with the *daṇḍa* in his hand and with his hair grown into curls and with no beard on his chin as he is so young.

There are *rudrākṣa* beads on the neck of Śaṅkara (See p. 64)

I



II

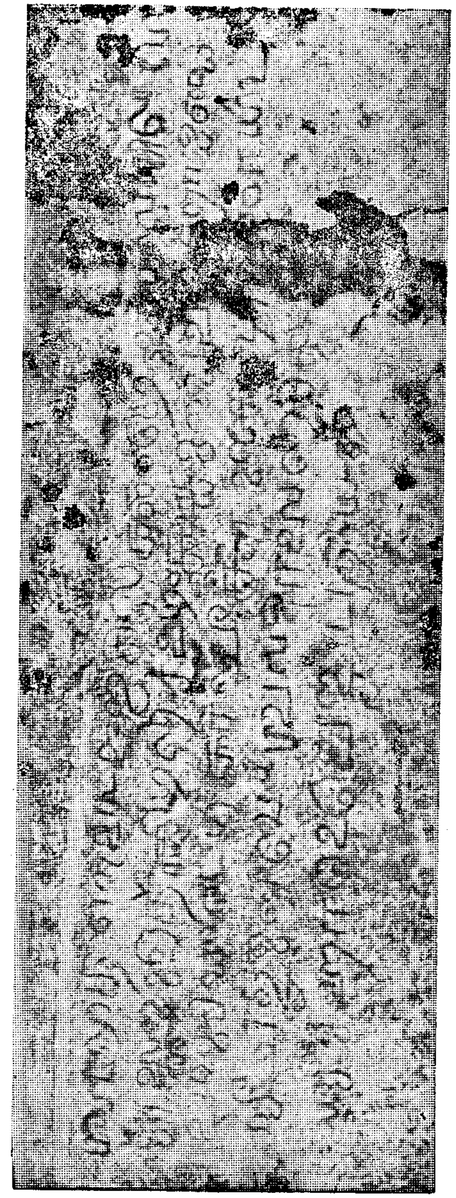


A Firman (I-II) of the Nawab of Arcot of 1792 A.D. (p. 73)

I

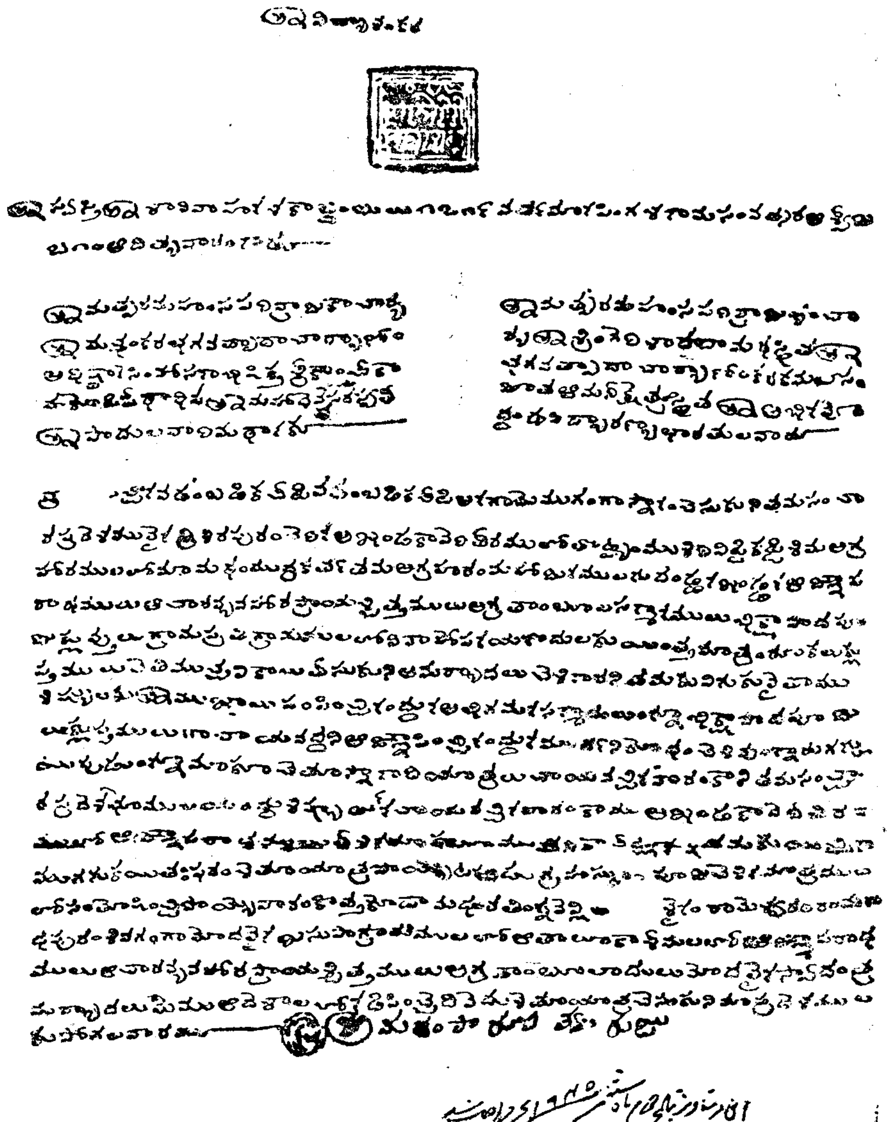


II



(p. 74)

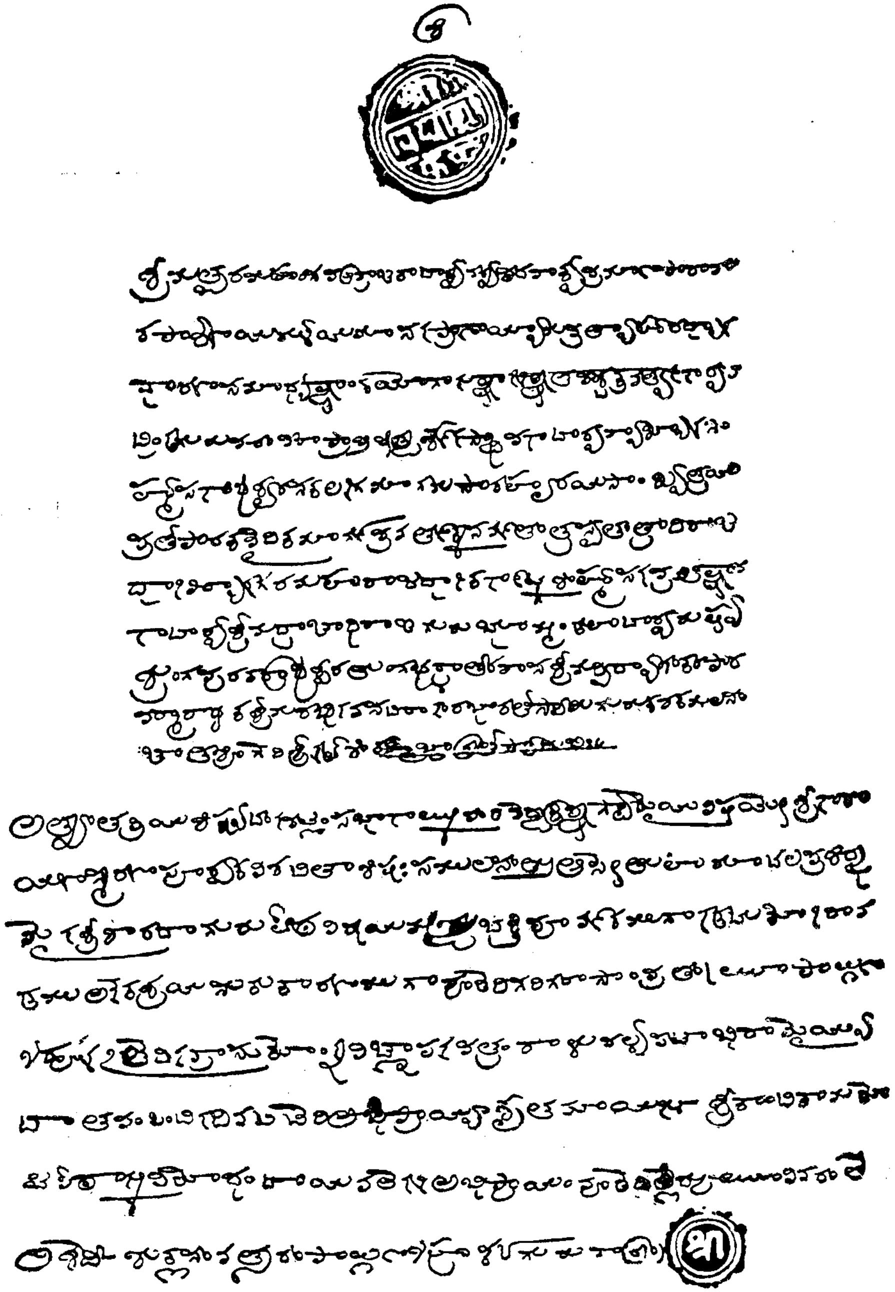
Stone epigraphs (I-II) in the Ādi Kumbheśvara Svāmi temple in Kumbhakonam. (p. 73)



Śrīmukham from the Āvaṇi Śriṅgeri Mutt (1797 A.D.) (p. 74)



An inscription found in the building at 119, Thambu Chetty Street, G. T. Madras, dedicating the same to Śrī Kāñci Kāmakoṭi Ācārya (p. 76)



Sr imukham from the Sringeri Acharya (1870 A.D.) to Sri Pandipeddi Krishnaswami Ayya. (p. 76)

D. No. ....

V. SRINIVASACHAR,
OFFICER-IN-CHARGE.

OFFICE OF THE SRI SRINGERI MUTT
& ITS PROPERTIES.

Sringeri, Dated 14th Octr 19 42.

Most Reverred Swamiji

I am very much grateful to you for your kind letter. Mr.Nagaraj Iyer came here and we gave him all comforts and conveniences for the darshan of Sri Saradambal etc., I must thank you for your proposal of arranging for founding a Library at Conjeevaram. The building there, cannot be considered assa Mutt. We only own a building there. which we have to keep in good repairs and the manager there takes care of the building It may not be quite advisible to keep photos or idols or padukas there and arrange for worship and give it the colour of the Mutt. As regards Library, the mainte -nance of it will involve some cost. Excepting to keep the building in order and we as it were a ca-retaker of it , it has not been the intention of the Mutt to give it any better status, especially because, it is the seat of Kamakoti Pita and it is not advisible to get oursel-ves

;o any controversy with that great Mutt, or to create r rival spirit in that locality.

With profound respects,

Yours obediently,

Officer-in-charge,
Sringeri Mutt & its properties.

Reverred Vishudhananda Theertha Swamiji,
Residing opposite Sri Sringeri mutt building
C O N J E E V A R A M.

A letter dated 14-10-1942 from the authorities of the Sringeri Mutt to Sri Visuddhananda Bharati. (p. 76)